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MEMOIRS

OF

JOHN QUINCY ADAMS,

COMPRISING PORTIONS OF

HIS DIARY FROM 1795 TO 1848.

EDITED BY

CHARLES FRANCIS ADAMS.

VOL. XII.

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MEMOIRS

OF

JOHN QUINCY ADAMS.

VOL. XII. —1

MEMOIRS OF JOHN QUINCY ADAMS.

CHAPTER XXII. (*Continued.*)

THE TWENTY-EIGHTH CONGRESS.

APRIL 2d, 1844.—At nine this morning the select committee on the resolves of the Legislature of Massachusetts of 23d March, 1843, met in the chamber of the Committee of Manufactures. Present, all the members except Garrett Davis. Mr. Morse read his report, which occupied about one hour in reading. Sample's motion, made at the last meeting, that a list of the petitions referred to the committee, and reported upon, should be appended to the journal, was discussed, and on taking the question by yeas and nays, Adams, Giddings, Sample, and Morse voted aye; Burke, Burt, Lucas, and Ingersoll voted no. At my request, Davis was sent for to give the casting vote, but was not found; whereupon Ingersoll moved, with some immaterial modification, the same resolution, and it was carried against the votes of Burke, Burt, and Lucas. I was then instructed to report to the House the resolution that the amendment to the Constitution, proposed by the resolves of the Legislature of Massachusetts, ought not to be recommended; and the resolution asking that the committee should be discharged from the further consideration of the subject, and the journal; and the committee adjourned without day—each member to present his own report to the House. Ingersoll, however, had not made up the journal, and no opportunity for presenting the report to the House occurred this day.

3d. Pratt, Orson; Page, John E. Pratt is a commissioned

agent from Joseph Smith, the Mayor of the city of Nauvoo, in the State of Illinois, and Chief and Prophet of the Mormons, or Latter-Day Saints, a new fanatical religious sect, who have occasioned great troubles and suffered great persecutions in the State of Missouri, from which they have been expelled by popular violence and the Government of the State. Page is a preacher of the gospel, of the same sect, now residing here. Pratt has two memorials from them to Congress, complaining of the injuries they have received, and claiming protection and redress. Pratt said he was instructed to ask an interview, first with the delegation from Illinois, and secondly with that from Massachusetts. I notified the members present from Massachusetts, who agreed to meet Pratt to-morrow morning in the chamber of the Committee of Manufactures, except Henry Williams, who declined to attend.

At the House, John W. Davis was meeting some obstacle to getting in a minority report, when I helped him through by making it the occasion of slipping in my report and the resolutions and journal of the select committee on the resolves of the Legislature of Massachusetts. I moved that all the reports should be laid on the table and printed. Instantly a porcupine of objections bristled up against me. Burt immediately called again for the reading of my report, and said he could not vote for its being printed unless it should be read. I said I had no objection, though it would occupy two hours and be exceedingly tedious; and if my report should be read I should, of course, require that they should all be read. Burt persisted, and the Clerk began to read my report; but he had not proceeded half a page before they arrested him, and there was a long struggle of chicanery to defeat the printing of my report. They finally took by yeas and nays the vote on the resolution, that the amendment of the Constitution recommended by the Massachusetts Legislature ought not to be recommended; carried—one hundred and fifty-three to thirteen. Then, that the committee should be discharged from the further consideration of the subject; adopted without division. Ingersoll, Burke, Sample, and Morse presented their several reports, and my motion was that they should all be laid on the table

and printed. The motion to lay them on the table worried through, with some edging. Saunders moved to lay the motion to print on the table. The further consideration was postponed till to-morrow.

4th. After the decision of the House yesterday on the resolutions reported from the select committee on the resolves of the Massachusetts Legislature, and the postponement to this day of the motion to print all the reports and the journal of the committee, the House was engaged the rest of the day in a very warm debate on the bill authorizing the President to sell the lead-mines in Illinois, Iowa, and Wisconsin, which, on the question of engrossment, was rejected by yeas and nays, sixty-nine to eighty-one—upon which a motion of reconsideration was immediately made, and lies over.

In the evening I attended the meeting of the National Institute at the Presbyterian Church in 4½ Street, and heard a discourse, by A. D. Bache, on the History of Science in Europe and America; an essay on the Indian Summer, by Professor Jacobs, of Gettysburg, Pennsylvania; and an account of the petrified forest near Cairo in Egypt, by Dr. A. D. Chaloner, of Philadelphia.

The Secretary of the Treasury, J. C. Spencer, presided at the meeting, and the new Secretary of State, John C. Calhoun, was there. I shook hands with him in silence.

The weather is intensely warm, and I passed the night without closing my eyes. At two in the morning I rose and forced my hand to write, struggling with the angel of death for two hours; then returned to bed for two more sleepless hours. At half-past ten this morning, with four other members of the Massachusetts delegation, I met in the chamber of the Committee of Manufactures the Mormon agent Pratt, and preacher Page, who set forth at large the grounds of their complaints against the Government and people of Missouri, and the persecutions for relief from which their memorials claim the interposition of Congress. The power of Congress to interfere is questionable; the right is doubtful. The memorials must be presented by a member from Illinois; and we agreed to act upon them as the proper sense of our duties would require.

At the House, after long and wide-spreading debate, the bill to regulate the pay of the army was passed by yeas and nays —one hundred and nine to thirty-six. The reports from the committee on the Massachusetts resolves were, in despite of Burt, ordered to be printed—eighty-five to sixty. And the joint resolution from the Senate to close the session on the 27th of May was postponed for consideration till the 13th of that month.

8th. Mr. Walter Forward, of Pittsburg, called on me this morning, and anxiously adverse, as I had found him last November at Pittsburg, against the annexation of Texas to this Union. To his enquiries as to the prospects of this event at present I could give no answer, though I now see it doomed beyond the reach of all but Almighty power, and despair of that. The impulse of national aggrandizement, spurred by private avarice and corruption, cannot be resisted, and it will now be consummated even without a war, with the connivance, if not with the aid, of England.

10th. When I went into the House, I found William J. Brown, of Indianapolis, one of the demi-demons of Democracy which make a Pandemonium of the House, closing, under the guise of a personal explanation, a renewed furious charge against Henry Clay of having said in one of his speeches that there was no need of protection. He had made the same charge one day last week, and it had been taken up and convicted of forgery by John White, of Kentucky. He had then been compelled to retract the charge and to apologize for it. But he had now got another report of a speech of Clay, in which he said there was no need of protection for protection, and upon this he had the impudence to renew the charge and to rail like a maniac against Clay.

White claimed the right to reply, and carried it by suspension of the rules, and again floored Brown till he gasped for breath, convicted him of rascally slander, and left not a rag of reputation upon his back. But no man thinks the worse of Brown for this sample of his character, and he will be ready to do his dirty work again to-morrow as if nothing had happened.

11th. This morning the Rev. R. R. Gurley called on me, with the Rev. Aaron Foster, from whom I had received a queer

letter on the 24th of last October, the day before I left Quincy for Cincinnati. He came now with a small album, blank, excepting a creed in half a dozen lines, that permanent and universal peace is the genius of Christianity and promotive of the prosperity of nations, and claims the prayers and exertions of all philanthropists.

He wished my name as first subscriber to this creed. I reinforced the creed by declaring peace the law of nature and of nature's God, the vital spirit and genius of Christianity, and essential to the liberty, justice, and prosperity of nations. I subscribed to this, and left him to find other subscribers as he may.

Mr. Wethered and Mr. Winder came with several letters and documents, and a request that I would present to Congress the camp-chest of Washington—a very unwelcome task, but which I do not see how I can decline.

I had promised to give a sitting of an hour at ten this morning to Mr. Gibert to paint my portrait; but these visitors had absorbed the time.

At the House, Tibbetts again moved to suspend the rules for a resolution to cease debate on the Eastern Harbor bill in committee of the whole on the state of the Union at two o'clock this afternoon, and then to take the question on all proposed amendments and report the bill to the House; and now he succeeded.

12th. Dr. Todson had called upon me yesterday morning for the life of Beethoven, which I had promised the day before to take out of the Congress library for him, but I had forgotten it, and asked him to call again this morning. Yesterday I took the books out, two small volumes duodecimo, which I gave to the doctor this morning, with a note of the librarian that they must be returned by the 18th instant. I looked over the volumes cursorily, enough to see that he was unfortunate through life by the mere roughness of his temper.

I revised this morning the remainder of my report on the resolves of the Massachusetts Legislature, and returned the proof with the manuscript to Mr. Haliday, ordering a hundred extra copies to be sent and delivered at my seat at the House.

At the request of J. M. Edwards and Anthony, I sat also in their room while they took three larger daguerreotype likenesses of me than those they had taken before. While I was there, President Tyler and his son John came in; but I did not notice them.

The House had been half an hour in session when I entered it, and, after an ineffectual attempt of Weller to go into committee of the whole on the state of the Union, sundry reports from committees were received—among which was one from Zadok Pratt, Chairman of the Committee on the Public Buildings, glancing at an appropriation to purchase from the funds received at the Patent Office books for the use of the office, and another joint resolution with an appropriation for various purposes. It raised a running debate, which closed by recommitting the resolution.

A. Stewart, from the Committee on the District of Columbia, reported without amendment a bill to incorporate the Georgetown College. Charles J. Ingersoll started an objection to it, which raised a debate. I urged recommitment of it to save it. Committed to the committee of the whole on the state of the Union.

13th. I received last evening a petition to the House of Representatives from Alanson Bibb, of Indiana County, Pennsylvania, bitterly complaining that he had heretofore sent me a petition to present, claiming remuneration for public services rendered by him in the Revolutionary War, and that it appeared I had totally neglected my duty and never presented his petition. I found on consulting my minutes that I presented his petition on the 27th of March, and it was referred to the Committee of Revolutionary Pensions, and it was published as No. 159 in my list in the National Intelligencer of the 5th instant. I give this as a sample of the treatment to which members of Congress are not unfrequently subject from petitioners. The sheet of the journal including the 27th of March is not yet printed.

It was about noon when I entered the House, and found it in committee of the whole on the state of the Union, Weller in the chair, upon the Army Appropriation bill. A call on the

Secretary of the Navy had been adopted, on motion of Mr. Summers, for correspondence of Commodore M. C. Perry, commander of the squadron on the coast of Africa, concerning the colored colonies there. Vance and Ramsay had pleaded in vain for the regular order of private business. The Army Appropriation bill prevailed, and the effort of McKay, Chairman of the Committee of Ways and Means, was to reduce the amount of the appropriations to square with the reductions of the Retrenchment bill recently passed for regulating the pay of the army. The army supporters, chiefly Whigs—Barnard, White, Joseph R. Ingersoll—were urging that the appropriations should be left as if the Retrenchment bill had not passed. Brengle, however, a new Whig member from Maryland, was in favor of the reduction, and Archibald Atkinson, of the First Congressional District of Virginia, voided a hogshead of invective upon the Whigs, and charged them, among other things, with now claiming for themselves the merit of the retrenchments made by the Twenty-Seventh Congress, but which were carried against their votes. Morse, of Maine, replied to Atkinson by a defence of the Whigs; but soon after two he gave way to a motion for the committee to rise, and the House adjourned.

14th. Immediately after dinner I received visits from the Minister of Great Britain, Mr. Pakenham, and his Secretary, Mr. Bidwell. With Mr. Pakenham I had some conversation. I enquired if his negotiation with our Government on the subject of the Oregon Territory had commenced. He said it had not; but he said that he had made an explicit declaration to our Department of State that the British Government would in no respect interfere in the affairs of Texas; and he spoke of it as somewhat extraordinary that the fact had been publicly denied in the Madisonian, the official daily journal of the Executive. He said he had thought of addressing a note to the Secretary of State on the subject. But he manifested no feeling on the signature of the treaty for the annexation of Texas to the United States, and left me with the impression that Great Britain would oppose no resistance to its consummation.

15th. Early this morning Harriet Livermore made her appearance here, for the fourth time within the last twenty years,

with a book which within the last six months she has published at a cost of nearly two hundred dollars, and for which there is no sale; and with a manuscript, to publish which she comes to solicit subscriptions. And, while she is spending money profusely to print books which nobody will purchase or read, she is so totally destitute that last Christmas-day in New York she had only three borrowed potatoes and half an ounce of dry bread for nourishment, and threw herself on a bed to die of hunger unless relieved by the special interposition of God—which came in the person of a female acquaintance who administered to her wants.

She breakfasted with us, and I took her printed book and subscribed for the printing of the manuscript, giving her a five-dollar bill for the whole. But I dissuaded her from printing, and declined drawing up a subscription paper for her, as she requested. She told me she wished to preach in the hall of the House of Representatives next Sunday; and I promised to aid her in obtaining for her the permission.

16th. At the House, Cranston presented, by leave, the protest of the Legislature of Rhode Island against the right of Congress to interfere in the internal affairs of that State. And just as he was presenting it, his colleague, Elisha R. Potter, went to him and asked him to tack to the protest a newspaper slip, on which were printed the message of the Governor of Rhode Island to the Legislature and the vote of censure by the Legislature upon the members who signed the memorial upon which Burke raised his select committee. The protest, when presented by Cranston, was ordered to be laid on the table and printed.

Some time after, Burke, going to the Clerk's table to examine the protest, found the newspaper slip tacked to it, and raised a tempest in a teapot, charging it as a fraud and imposition upon the House, practised by the Rhode Island members. Burke grossly insulted them, and the bull-dogs of the Democracy were all out upon them. Some of the Whig members sustained them as well as they could, and they made a rather awkward apology. Weller moved to reconsider the order to lay on the table and print the protest. It was reconsidered.

Potter then withdrew the newspaper slip, much against the will of Payne and other of the rabid animals, who denied their right to withdraw their supplementary paper; but the Speaker decided that they had the right. The order to lay on the table and print the protest was then renewed; but they took the question of printing by yeas and nays. Five minutes after, Burke smuggled in a protest against the protesters, which was laid on the table and ordered to be printed, much in the same snarl as the rest. Causin made on the question to print the protest an eloquent and sound speech against the whole proceedings of the House on the subject.

17th. Numerous reports of committees were received, almost all pernicious. The Western Harbor bill was taken up, and the previous question was withdrawn for the homunculus Douglas to poke out a speech in favor of the constitutionality of appropriations for the improvement of Western rivers and harbors. This brought out Rhett in all his fury, and Holmes in all his casuistry, against Douglas and against the whole system of internal improvement, federalism, consolidation, and despotism. The debate was continued between the conflicting absurdities of the Southern Democracy, which is slavery, and the Western Democracy, which is knavery, till Kennedy, of Indiana, slumped into a motion to strike out the whole bill and insert the bill first reported by the committee, omitting the Illinois River.

Hopkins, quasi Speaker, pronounced this not in order. Kennedy appealed.

18th. I was all the time laboring with preparation for the ceremony of presenting to the House, and thereby to Congress, in the name of the late William Sidney Winder, the camp-chest of General George Washington, used by him during the Revolutionary War. There are circumstances of deep feeling in this transaction, susceptible of being most invidiously turned against me and giving an awkward and perhaps ridiculous aspect to the whole proceeding. There was a letter from General Washington referring to the furniture of this chest, which, after long and anxious search, I found at the National Intelligencer office, in Niles's Register of 13th May, 1843. By agree-

ment with the Speaker, immediately after the reading of the (journal) of the House, I stated that I had this chest to present, and proposed that three o'clock P.M. this day should be fixed for the operation; to which the House assented.

In the interval the morning hour was consumed by a speech of Giddings against a motion of Charles J. Ingersoll to print ten thousand extra copies of a report by him as Chairman of the Committee of Foreign Affairs in the case of the Amistad.

The House then took up the Western River and the Harbor bill, and I retired to the chamber of the Committee of Manufactures and wrote till close upon three; then returned to the House, where they had just rejected the engrossment of the Harbor bill, and Duncan had moved a reconsideration. Precisely at three o'clock I presented the camp-chest, with the documents, my vouchers for offering it, and an address not more than five minutes in length, and offered a joint resolution accepting the chest, and another of respect and sympathy to the family. Mr. Wethered and J. P. Kennedy followed with a few words.

19th. Mr. John P. Kennedy closed the scene of the presentation of the chest by a short speech, appropriate and touching, and offered a third resolution, that the documents presented by me, with the chest, be entered on the journal of the House. All the resolutions were adopted, with one dissenting voice—John P. Hale, who, upon the question of each resolution, distinctly answered, No.

At the House, I presented, by leave, the resolves of the Legislature of Massachusetts concerning the annexation of Texas, of last, and moved that they be laid on the table and printed. Cave Johnson and Weller made a show of objection to the reception of them, but did not persist. Charles J. Ingersoll made an attempt to have them referred to his Committee of Foreign Affairs, but the Speaker declared his motion not in order.

The first business of the day was the question upon the motion to print ten thousand copies of Charles Hudson's report from the Committee of Manufactures, with Charles J. Ingersoll's amendment to print ten thousand copies of his report

from the Committee of Foreign Affairs in the case of the Amistad. Preston King said he would move the indefinite postponement of the subject; but Weller moved to lay the whole subject on the table—which was carried by yeas and nays, eighty-six to sixty-two. Giddings's hour speech of yesterday had sickened the Democracy of Ingersoll's report. I had not read it.

20th. At the House, John Wentworth, of Illinois, made a personal explanation, assuring the House that he did not use the words "By God!" yesterday, as reported in the Intelligencer, but only exclaimed, "My God!" an exclamation of deep sensibility, but in no sense or intention of using profane language.

Alexander H. Stephens presented resolutions of the Legislature of Georgia in answer and adverse to those of the Legislature of Massachusetts proposing the amendment to the Constitution. He moved to refer them to a select committee of nine; but Cave Johnson moved that they be laid on the table and printed; which was carried. McKay moved to suspend the rules to go into committee of the whole on the state of the Union to take up the Navy or Post-Office Appropriation bills. Lost—eighty-eight to ninety-one. Vance pleaded very hard for the private calendar, but McClernand moved to go into committee of the whole on the state of the Union to take up the Western Harbor bill; and that prevailed—one hundred and twenty to fifty-nine. Tibbetts concluded his dull speech in support of the bill. John R. J. Daniel, of Halifax, North Carolina, railed for an hour against internal improvement, and Alvan Cullom, of Livingston, Fourth District of Tennessee, sounded the same base string. The Illinois River was struck out—one hundred and eighteen to forty-nine—for fear of a veto. The bill then passed to be engrossed, by yeas one hundred and ten to seventy-five; and finally passed—one hundred and eight to seventy-two. Duncan moved a reconsideration; no quorum voting.

22d. This was a memorable day in the annals of the world. The treaty for the annexation of Texas to this Union was this day sent in to the Senate; and with it went the freedom of the

human race. In the House it was a no less disastrous day. McKay, Chairman of the Committee of Ways and Means, made his long fore-announced motion, to suspend the rules to go into committee of the whole on the state of the Union to take up his Anti-Tariff bill; and after a call of the House, upon which one hundred and ninety-four members answered to their names, the motion was carried by a vote of one hundred and four to ninety-four, the majority consisting of that floating class of Janus-faces who decide all great and critical questions by holding themselves at market till the last hour, and then let the hammer fall to the highest bidder. The vote against reconsidering the passage of the Western Harbor bill had been seventy-three to one hundred and eleven. The number voting on the motion to take up the Anti-Tariff was one hundred and ninety-eight—probably the largest vote of the session. The standing supremacy of the slave-representation is one hundred and twelve, a bare majority of the whole House, consisting of eighty slave-holders and thirty-two free-trade auxiliaries. This is the average, allowing eight slave-holders for occasional defection from their iron rule, and an equal number of Laodicean freemen, neither hot nor cold, and ever wavering between slavery and freedom.

This day the Speaker put G. W. Hopkins in the chair, and no sooner was the bill read than Charles J. Ingersoll started to take the lead by moving to strike out the 1st of September and insert the 1st of January next for the beginning of the new tariff.

At the very same time, Robert Dale Owen, the Scotch atheist, had a diabetic hour speech against the tariff, and the English corn-laws, and paupers, by heart, and could not refrain himself from letting it off. There was a long debate whether, upon the petty question to change the day for the bill to commence, the whole tariff controversy could be discussed. Ingersoll's motion was at last rejected, and Robert Dale went through his hour without closing, he wilily laying it over till the next Presidential canvass shall be settled. Wright followed for half an hour, and then moved the committee to rise; and the House adjourned.

23d. I answered the letter of Julius Pratt & Co., of Meriden, Connecticut, which accompanied their present of an ivory cane to me. I answered also the letter of Henry L. Ellsworth, Commissioner of Pensions, with which he delivered the cane to me. I took these letters, together with a copy of the letter from Pratt & Co., and the cane, leaving them all with Mr. Ellsworth; the cane to be kept in custody of the Commissioner among the curiosities of the office, until the right of petition shall be restored by the extinction of the gag-rule in the House of Representatives. The donors of the cane request me, when that event shall occur, to have the date of it added to the motto held by the eagle on the top of the cane. In depositing the cane at the Patent Office, I reserved to myself, and my legal representatives, the right to borrow it hereafter, to have the date added to the motto, when the fact shall be realized; and then, that the cane be finally deposited in the office.[1] Mr. Goodwin, of Hartford, was at the office with Mr. Ellsworth, who promised to forward my letter to Pratt & Co., and to keep the cane safely.

At the House, after the reading of the journal, there was no quorum. Hopkins moved a call, which was commenced, but soon superseded as the members came in. Mr. Pollock, the member from Pennsylvania, replacing the late Henry Frick, was sworn in and took his seat. The House immediately went into committee of the whole on the state of the Union, G. W. Hopkins in the chair, on the Tariff bill. Joseph A. Wright, of Indiana, concluded an agricultural hour speech against the existing tariff of 1842, and in favor of the present bill. John

[1] The last will and testament of the writer was found to contain the following provision: "I give and bequeath to the people of the United States of America an ivory cane, presented to me by Julius Pratt, of Meriden, in Connecticut, and by me deposited in the custody of the Commissioner of Patents, at Washington, to remain in his custody until called for by me. The said cane bears upon it an inscription in honor of the repeal of the rule of the House of Representatives prohibiting the reception of petitions on the subject of slavery, 3d December, 1844, being inserted therein as the date upon which the said rule was rescinded, according to the request of the donor; which said cane it is my desire should be kept in the Patent Office of the United States in future, as it has been heretofore."

As the executor of Mr. Adams, the writer presented to President Polk an official copy of the foregoing bequest to the United States.

White, of Kentucky, then took the floor, and consumed his hour in discoursing, not upon the tariff, but in defence of Henry Clay against a base concerted attack of Linn Boyd, George W. Hopkins, and Walter Coles, in the newspapers, reviving the old lying accusation of a bargain between him and me for my appointment of him as Secretary of State for his vote in my favor as President. After refuting this charge, White was passing to another ridiculous imputation, the gist of which was that Clay, in a speech upon the Missouri question, had spoken of black slaves and white slaves. The hour expired. White pleaded hard for another hour, but the House would not indulge him, and he had so exasperated the ruling party by driving them from their battery of slander, that one of them, George Rathbun, sitting near where he spoke, started up, and, in a transport of rage, turned upon him and struck him. A short fight ensued—a rush of members over the tables and chairs to part them. The Speaker took the chair. A pistol-ball was fired at McCausland, a member, by a Kentuckian named Moore, whom he was turning out of the hall. The ball missed him, but passed through the door and wounded an officer of the police, named Wirt. Then three hours of debate, a select committee of five to investigate, and adjourned.

24th. Before the reconciliation took place yesterday between the parties to the fray in the House, I had risen and requested Dromgoole to withdraw his motion that the Sergeant-at-Arms should take the two members into custody, for a motion which I proposed to make for the appointment of a select committee of investigation, according to the precedent in the case of the fray between Wise and Stanley; but Romulus M. Saunders took the floor from me for the same identical proposition, and after the reconciliation I thought there was no further occasion for a committee. The party majority, however, clung to the appointment, and carried it, of a select committee of five—Saunders, myself, Dromgoole, Reuben Chapman, and Hardin, of Illinois. The selection of the three slave-mongers was a sufficient indication of the use to be made of this committee. Saunders notified them to meet in the room of the Judiciary Committee immediately after the adjournment of the House.

Having heard that General Almonte, the Mexican Minister, was to depart to-morrow for New York, with his family, I called at his house and took leave of him. I told him that I had received several applications in behalf of individuals, my countrymen, prisoners at Perote, taken at Mier, with entreaties that I would solicit President Santa Anna for their release; that under present circumstances I could not justify myself for such interposition; but I still hoped he would return from New York to this city, and that the peace between our countries would be preserved, and in that event would speak further with him on this subject.

This morning Andrew Kennedy and John White asked a suspension of the rules, to enable them to make personal explanations in refutation of misstatements in the Globe. The vote for suspension was ninety-eight to sixty-four—not two-thirds.

Committee of the whole on the state of the Union, first Weller and then Hopkins in the chair. Jacob Brinkerhoff, of Mansfield, Eleventh Congressional District of Ohio, made an hour anti-tariff speech; Wethered and John P. Kennedy, Edward Joy Morris and Washington Hunt, tariff speeches, till half-past four, when the committee rose, and the House adjourned.

The select committee met in the room of the Judiciary Committee. I found immediately that Saunders, Dromgoole, and Chapman were intent upon turning this quarrel into a party engine, and gave notice that I should not attend the meeting of the committee to-morrow morning, and should ask to be excused by the House from further service on the committee.

25th. Dr. Laurie called on me this morning for an answer to a letter that I had received from him, soliciting my interposition with the Mexican President, Santa Anna, to obtain the release of Dr. William M. Shepherd, a nephew of his wife, captured as a Texan prisoner taken at Mier, and now confined in the castle at Perote. I answered him, as I had answered Mr. Breese yesterday, that it would give me great pleasure to contribute all in my power to obtain the release of the prisoner, but that in

the present state of our relations with Mexico I could ask no personal favor of President Santa Anna.

At the House, immediately after the reading of the journal, I requested to be excused from serving upon the select committee on the quarrel between Rathbun and White, and to be excused also from assigning my reasons for the request. I said I might, by the rules of the House, release myself from the service, being a member of two other committees; but I preferred to be discharged from this committee by authority of the House, and, as the committee would probably have occasion to sit this day and to-morrow, I wished that another member might be appointed to supply my place. The Speaker put the question, and I was excused without a negative voice.

John Slidell, of New Orleans, then rose, and announced the death of Pierre Evariste Bossier, a member from Louisiana, of consumption, last evening, at his lodgings in this city. Slidell pronounced a genteel eulogy upon him, larded with Latin and French proverbs, and crowned him with a chaplet of French Creole virtues. He offered the usual sympathizing resolutions, to wear crape, to attend the funeral to-morrow at noon, and to adjourn; which were adopted without further notice. I spoke to Mr. Crittenden, who said Mr. Clay would be here to-morrow, and his letter on Texas would be published in the National Intelligencer Saturday morning.

26th. Mr. Von Raumer and his son are travellers from Berlin, Prussia. They come with an open letter of recommendation from Henry Wheaton, the Minister of the United States at Berlin, addressed to perhaps thirty individuals, public men in the several States of this Union, and among the rest to me. The letter is endorsed or countersigned by Edward Everett, at London, about the 1st of this month. Mr. Von Raumer has already published a book of travels in European countries, said to be in high repute, but of which I had never heard. He comes now to travel in this country and then publish another book of travels. He called on me this morning, and in his conversation seemed to have his curiosity chiefly attracted to the subject of slavery.

27th. Mr. Henry Clay arrived in this city yesterday, on his way homeward from an extensive tour to the South, as far as New Orleans. In the National Intelligencer of this morning is published a letter from him against the annexation of Texas at this time.

Mr. Giddings called on me and introduced to me one of his constituents, named Ford, who comes as a delegate to the Whig Convention to be held at Baltimore next Wednesday to nominate Henry Clay as the Whig candidate for election to the office of President of the United States next December. The delegates to that Convention, and to that of the Convention of young men to be held the succeeding day at the same place, are already swarming here from all parts of the country. Among the rest, Mr. Gibson, the Mayor of Schenectady, who presided at the hospitable dinner which they gave me there last summer, called this morning, with his friend, a Mr. Strong, of Geneva, in that State.

At the House, Dromgoole moved a resolution to cease debate in committee of the whole on the state of the Union upon the Tariff bill on Monday, the 6th of May, and take it into the House. Several of the Whigs insisted that the time was too short. Charles J. Ingersoll moved, as an amendment, Thursday, the 9th of May. Andrew Stewart moved to lay the resolution on the table; carried, by yeas and nays—eighty-eight to eighty-three. Weller, in a burst of passion, said, "Well, we will pass the bill next Wednesday." The motion to go now into committee of the whole on the Tariff bill was resisted, but without avail. D. D. Barnard made an effort to get up the Eastern Harbor bill, but failed. The day was consumed in the dullest of hour speeches, with Hopkins in the chair, by James E. Belser, of Alabama, against the tariff, Richard Brodhead, of Easton, Pennsylvania, for it, John Slidell, of New Orleans, on both sides, and Lewis Steenrod, of Wheeling, Virginia, anti-tariff to the backbone. Four speeches—four hours. At half-past four the committee rose, and the House adjourned.

Martin Van Buren's letter against the annexation of Texas at this time was published this evening in the Globe.

29th. Dixon H. Lewis offered a resolution calling on the President for copies of such portions of the "correspondence, public or private, in the years 1816, 1817, 1818, 1819, and 1820, between our Ministers at the Court of Madrid and the Department of State, between those Ministers and the Spanish Secretaries of State, and between the Department of State and the Spanish Ministers accredited to this Government, and which correspondence may not have been hitherto communicated to either House of Congress and published under the authority of either. Provided, however, that the President shall not deem it incompatible with the public interest to furnish the copies referred to."

Objections were made to receiving the resolution. Lewis moved to suspend the rules; for which I voted, and which was carried—one hundred and nineteen to twenty-three. John W. Davis immediately moved the previous question. He withdrew it, however, at my request, for me to move an amendment to strike out the proviso. Lewis, after some resistance, accepted the modification, and the resolution was adopted without the proviso. The House then went into committee of the whole on the state of the Union, Hopkins in the chair, on the Tariff bill. Weller, Alexander Ramsay, of Harrisburg, Fourteenth Congressional District of Pennsylvania, Jacob Collamer, of Woodstock, Second District of Vermont, Moses G. Leonard, of the city of New York, and Abraham R. McIlvaine, of Chester, Seventh District of Pennsylvania, expatiated five hours pro and con, for and against the tariff, with various merit—Collamer's speech bearing off the palm of the day.

30th. Mr. Henry Clay, with his son, called yesterday at my house, and was received by my family; but I was not at home. This morning I called, with my son, at Mr. William A. Bradley's, where he lodges, and saw him. He looks much weather-beaten, and is very hoarse, but in good health and spirits.

At the House, they went almost immediately into committee of the whole on the state of the Union upon the Tariff bill, Hopkins in the chair. Albert Smith, of New York, closed an hour speech against the bill, and was followed by Linn Boyd,

of Kentucky, who, after a few words in favor of the bill, turned off to his new-vamped old slander, of a corrupt bargain between Henry Clay and me that he should be appointed Secretary of State on condition that he and the Kentucky delegation should vote for me as President of the United States. Boyd used up his hour in replying to John White's hour speech in vindication of Mr. Clay against these charges. This stale and base calumny, already abandoned and recanted by those who first invented and imposed it upon the credulity of their partisans, these men are now blowing the coals up to kindle again into a flame to consume Clay's election hopes and my honest fame. Boyd closed his speech with another attack upon Clay for his vote in favor of the Bankrupt Act of 1842.

Caleb B. Smith came next, with a strong hour speech in favor of the tariff; Preston King, of New York, with a shorter one against it. George P. Marsh, of Vermont, and Benjamin A. Bidlack continued the debate with high and low powers till past five o'clock, when the committee rose.

May 1st. A copy of the treaty for the annexation of Texas, with all the correspondence communicated with it, printed in confidential secrecy for the use of the Senate, by some treachery was conveyed to the table of the editor of the New York Evening Post, and they have been all published. Letters from Henry Clay, Martin Van Buren, and Thomas H. Benton, all concurring in the injustice and impolicy of annexing Texas at this time to the United States, have been published within the last five days, and the reading them has consumed so much time that my diary runs again into arrears, and my head into confusion.

This was the day of the first Whig Convention at Baltimore, to nominate Henry Clay as their candidate for the office of President of the United States for four years from the 4th of March next, and to agree upon a candidate for the office of Vice-President. They met accordingly, two hundred and seventy-five in number, from the twenty-six States, equal to the constitutional number of the two Houses of Congress; and, what never has happened in either House of Congress, the whole number from every State was present. Ambrose Spen-

cer, of New York, was President, and Henry Clay, of Kentucky, was unanimously nominated as their candidate for President. At the fourth time of voting vivâ voce, they fixed upon Theodore Frelinghuysen, of New Jersey, as their candidate for the Vice-Presidency. Mr. Connell called here this evening and gave us this information, received from Baltimore by the Telegraph.

4th. The stream of visitors, returning delegates from the Baltimore Conventions, is yet copious and unabated. Many of my old acquaintances come to shake hands with me as they pass, and many others ask to be introduced to me for the same purpose. Their names are seldom pronounced by their introducers so that I distinctly hear them, and their names and their persons slip alike from my memory the moment they part from me. But they consume time, and multiply subjects of excitement tending to distraction.

At the same time the treaty for the annexation of Texas to the United States, with the President's message transmitting it to the Senate, and the accompanying documents, prematurely published, and the conflicting opinions of the leading men of the Union, disclosed in letters and speeches at public meetings, all indicate the immediate crisis of a great struggle between slavery and freedom throughout the world. I must retire from this contest, or perish under it, probably before the close of the present year, or even of the present session of Congress. The issue is precipitated by its bearing on the approaching Presidential election. It is John Tyler's last card for a popular whirlwind to carry him through; and he has played it with equal intrepidity and address. He has compelled Clay and Van Buren to stake their last chance upon opposition to the measure *now*, and has forced himself upon the whole Democracy as their exclusive candidate for the Presidency next December.

6th. Last Saturday, the report signed John C. Calhoun, Secretary of State, was received by the House, upon the resolution adopted at my motion on the 26th of February last, enquiring whether any gross errors have been discovered in the census, as corrected at the Department of State in 1841, etc. The re-

port is at once insulting to the House, evasive of the enquiry, and false by equivocation. The journal of the House this morning, referring to the report, declared that it stated that no gross errors had been discovered. I moved to strike out those words from the journal, for the report did not deny the existence of the errors, but, taking advantage of a blunder in the copy of the resolution sent to the Department, substituting 1843 for 1841, to evade a direct answer to the resolution, affected to deny the existence of a census corrected in 1843, and to imply that after the correction of 1841 there has been no re-examination of the census, and no material errors discovered. My motion started a debate, very soon arrested by a motion from Weller for the previous question; and with great difficulties I obtained the yeas and nays, which were thirty-two and one hundred and twenty-six.

I then moved a suspension of the rules, to refer to a select committee the report from the Secretary of State, with instructions to inquire into the fact of the errors of the census, and report thereon to the House. The Speaker said there was already a motion to suspend the rules, which was made by McKay, to go into committee of the whole on the state of the Union to take up the Tariff bill. But Romulus M. Saunders claimed a privileged right to report in part from the select committee on the fray between John White and George Rathbun. He said that it would occasion no debate; but he counted without his host. As to the quarrel between White and Rathbun, they reported only the testimony of thirty-four witnesses—no resolution. As to the case of William S. Moore, who fired the pistol and wounded Wirt, the policeman, the committee had no doubt of the power of the House to punish him for the contempt; but they thought it most expedient to turn him over to the judicial tribunals, and reported a resolution to that effect, which was adopted.

As to the third charge upon the committee—to report a bill or resolution for punishing or repressing disorders in the House for the future—they were not ready to report as yet; and he moved to lay the report and testimony on the table, and print; and he moved the previous question. The report was, how-

ever, not satisfactory to Mr. White, who moved to recommit the report—which raised a rancorous debate of four hours; after which the debate was postponed to next Thursday week, and the report and testimony to be printed.

7th. General Erastus Root, a long-celebrated and popular politician of the State of New York, and (one) of the delegates to the Clay Convention of the last week at Baltimore, called on me this morning, to solicit my interposition with the Mexican President, Santa Anna, to obtain the release of Cyrus K. Gleason, one of the Texan prisoners taken at Mier and confined in the castle at Perote—he went from the neighborhood of General Root's residence—and he read to me a memorial numerously signed by his neighbors, entreating his good offices to liberate the young man, and particularly to apply for mine.

Mr. Henry Johnson, a Senator from Louisiana, came to my seat yesterday, with a letter from J. H. Leverich, dated at New Orleans, 20th April last, requesting him to procure my good offices in the same way for a young man named Hedenberg (A. D.), of a respectable family in New Jersey, in the same predicament with Gleason.

I answered in both cases that if the relations of peace with Mexico should be restored, I would apply to General Almonte so far as may be proper, believing that the present existing state of things forbids any application from me to the Mexican President.

9th. A new subject of political excitement is opening upon this country, the extent and duration of which it is impossible for me to foresee, but which must have great influence for good or evil (God grant it may be for good) upon the future history and fortunes of this Union. It is a deadly feud between the native American poor population and the Roman Catholic Irish multitudes gathered in the city of Philadelphia. The animosities between these two classes of people have been fermenting in all our Atlantic cities for several years, and have been much aggravated by the pernicious factious influence of these Irish Catholics over the elections in all the populous cities. The reaction of the native American population effected a total revolution in the recent election of the city government

of New York. They have now broken out in furious riots at Philadelphia, where, from the first of this week, a succession of bitterly exasperated mobs have destroyed multitudes of human lives, dwelling-houses, schools, and churches, unrestrained by the government of the city or of the State.

10th. A letter of resignation was read from Dixon H. Lewis, of Alabama, whose twenty score of flesh have been transferred from slumber in the House to sleep in the Senate. He takes there the place of William R. King, a gentle slave-monger, called by Jackson "Miss Nancy," and now appointed Minister to France, for a quarrel and threatened duel with H. Clay in 1841.

The doom of the Tariff bill had been fixed for this day. When the bill was on Wednesday reported from the committee of the whole on the state of the Union to the House, the league of Slavery and besotted Democracy which rules the House and the land dared not spring the previous question upon the debate. They wanted an hour speech from McKay, Chairman of the Committee of Ways and Means, to wash down the pill; and Barnard, a member of the minority of that committee, claimed an hour to discuss the bill as a measure of revenue. There was some dirty chicanery to deprive Barnard of the floor, but McKay, in order to reserve for himself the last word, yielded the floor to Barnard, who, in a speech full to the point, demonstrated the utter absurdity of the bill as a measure of revenue. McKay replied feebly, and in a tone of voice so low that the House could not hear him; but he killed his hour. Cullom moved the previous question. Cave Johnson moved a call of the House—two hundred and three members answered. Elmer moved to lay the bill on the table; carried—one hundred and five to ninety-nine. Irvin moved to reconsider; lost —ninety-nine to one hundred and three. Motions to adjourn and postpone lost before taking the question of reconsideration. Stewart said, as there had been a death, he moved to adjourn; and the House adjourned. Evening visits from Messrs. Connell and Lee; and, at the invitation of Mr. Winthrop, I attended an evening party of all the Whigs in Congress at his lodgings. Mr. Clay was there.

12th. Before dinner we had a visit from Mr. Henry Clay, to take leave. In good health he goes to-morrow for his home at Ashland, in Kentucky. His prospects of election to the Presidency are at this time brighter than they have ever been before, and I sincerely believe his success desirable for the best interests of the country.

15th. Adams, John Quincy; Houston, George S.; Chappell, Absalom H.; French, Richard; Lucas, William; Brengle, Francis; Potter, Emery D.; Yost, Jacob S.; Wethered, John. The names in the margin are those, including my own, of the select committee to whom, on the 19th of February last, was referred the report of the Secretary of the Treasury on the resolution of the House of the 3d of January, concerning the present condition of the Smithsonian Fund. I met them at ten this morning, in the chamber of the Committee of Manufactures; all present except Houston and Chappell, who were duly notified. We had barely time to read the will of Smithson, the Act of Congress accepting the bequest, and the report of the Secretary of the Treasury referred to the committee, and adjourned, to meet to-morrow at ten o'clock.

In the House, Dellet, of Alabama, by leave, presented resolutions of a meeting at Mobile for the re-annexation of Texas, which, without reading, were laid on the table. McKay made an abortive attempt to go into committee of the whole on the state of the Union, to take up the Appropriation bills; the committees were called for reports, many of which were presented, and among them two from the Post-Office Committee, the majority report announcing a bill not yet ready. And Charles J. Ingersoll, from the Committee of Foreign Affairs, reported a resolution requesting the President to rescind, as soon as may be done without giving just cause of complaint, the reciprocity treaties with the Hanse Towns, Denmark, and Sweden, and to modify that with Great Britain.

Saunders, Chairman of the select committee on the fight between White and Rathbun, moved to reprint two thousand extra copies of the report and testimony; which, after some wrangling, was lost, by yeas and nays—ninety-one to seventy-nine; not two-thirds.

Campbell moved to go into committee of the whole on the state of the Union, to take up the District Banks bill; interrupted by a resolution moved by Weller, to give one hundred and fifty dollars to John L. Wirt for the expenses of his wound received in the fray between White and Rathbun—which was instantly carried, without a negative vote. Campbell's motion was lost, by yeas and nays—fifty-nine to one hundred and twelve. Duncan's bill, for holding the election of Electors of President and Vice-President of the United States on the same day throughout the Union, was taken up, and driven through, rejecting an amendment moved by Elmer, to postpone the operation of the Act till after the election immediately approaching, and after two hours spent on a call of the House till twelve members were brought in in custody of the Sergeant-at-Arms, and then all further proceedings were suspended.

16th. I met again the committee on the Smithsonian bequest, the same members present as yesterday. The report of the Secretary of the Treasury evades all explanation of the manner how the fund was almost entirely invested in bonds of the State of Arkansas, upon which no interest has been paid, except in other bonds of the same State, and upon which for more than two years no interest has been paid at all. How to make the fund now available for any appropriation by Congress to the purposes of the testator, was the question first discussed, and upon which the committee came to no result. Then I read the bill reported by the select committee on the 12th of April, 1842, and, after some conversation, the committee adjourned to next Monday, ten o'clock, for the Chairman, consulting with Judge French, to prepare some specific measure to be discussed for report to the House.

In the House, I moved a suspension of the rules, to present a memorial from the American Statistical Association on the errors in the printed sixth census; lost—ninety-seven to forty-nine. I called on the Speaker to vote, as his vote, if in the affirmative, would have carried the two-thirds. He refused to vote, and said if he did vote it would be in the negative. After some wrangling debate, the report on the White and Rathbun fisticuffs came up, and the whole subject was laid on the table.

The Eastern Harbor bill was crammed through, and finally carried, by yeas and nays—ninety-six to eighty. Holmes made two attempts to adjourn over to Monday; both failures, by yeas and nays. The ostensible reason was to ventilate and summer dress the hall; the real one, to attend the races.

17th. I went this morning to the House, with a hope that they would devote this day to the consideration of private claims, which for several weeks have been totally neglected. I entered at the Clerk's table the memorial from the American Statistical Association, with directions to refer it to the select committee on statistics. The Chairman of that committee, Zadok Pratt, promised me that they should report upon it to the House; but the slave oligarchy will yet prevail to suppress this document.

In the House, Saunders attempted to bring up the *quarrel* again, on the pretence of a privileged question, alleging that White had yesterday cast reflections upon his report, which he considered as reflections upon him, and he demanded an explanation. White said nothing, and the Speaker told Saunders that this was not a privileged question. The only good thing done by the House was at the motion of David L. Seymour, to transfer from the committee of the whole House to the committee of the whole House on the state of the Union the House bill No. 7, extending the widows' Revolutionary pensions.

Dean insisted upon going into committee of the whole on the state of the Union, to take up the Navy Retrenchment bill; but Vance called loudly for the orders of the day on private claims; and I conjured the House to give one day to mercy, in vain. Dean's motion was almost unanimously rejected. The House went into committee of the whole on private bills.

18th. Mr. Persico's statues of Columbus and the Indian Girl were yesterday taken from their boxes and hoisted upon the pedestal at the last summit of the flight of steps to the eastern central entrance to the rotunda of the Capitol. The workmen had been two days in raising the statues, and as I left the Capitol yesterday to come home, I saw them fully exposed. Soon after dinner, Persico came to my house, almost convulsed with agitation, to tell me that the statues were up, and was

quite mortified when I told him I had seen them. He was anxious to have been the first to announce to me the memorable event, and he was going to announce it to President Tyler and to the Secretary of State, Calhoun. He wanted also to show me the statues and hear what I should think of them; and I agreed to meet him there Monday morning.

I called at the Department of State, and spoke with the Secretary, John C. Calhoun: 1. On the application for documents from the Government of New Brunswick, requested by letter from John G. Palfrey, Secretary of State to the Commonwealth of Massachusetts. 2. On the resolution of H. R. U. S. calling on the President for copies of the instructions to the African squadron, and of the British instructions to their squadron, if they have been communicated. 3. Upon the errors in the printed census of 1840. He called Mr. Derrick to answer me on the first and second points, and answered like a true slave-monger on the third. He writhed like a trodden rattlesnake on the exposure of his false report to the House that no material errors have been discovered in the printed census of 1840, and finally said that where there were so many errors they balanced one another, and led to the same conclusion as if they were all correct.

20th. I had prepared a draft of a bill making an appropriation of seven hundred thousand dollars from the Treasury to assume the annual interest on the Smithson Fund, invested now in stocks of several States and upon interest, the payment of which is suspended; which draft I proposed to submit to the consideration of the committee on the Smithsonian bequest at their meeting this morning. But only one member of the committee, Jacob S. Yost, attended. I read my draft of a bill to him, and we agreed to meet again next Wednesday morning at half-past nine.

Persico was not at the entrance of the Capitol, where he had agreed to meet me; but I received a note from him this evening, stung by a censorial article in the Baltimore Sun upon the nakedness of his Indian Girl.

In the House, there was no attempt made to call for resolutions; but Campbell offered resolutions from a portion of his

constituents for the re-annexation of Texas; which were laid on the table and ordered to be printed. Committee of the whole on the state of the Union, George C. Dromgoole in the chair. Several bills were proposed to be taken up by several members. Dean was very urgent to take up his Navy Retrenchment bill; Campbell, to take up the District Banks bill; and John W. Davis, to take up the bill to reduce and graduate the price of the public lands. But Dromgoole, playing into the hands of McKay, put first the question upon his motion to take up the Post-Office Appropriation bill; and it was carried. Garrett Davis moved to reduce the pay of the special agents of the Postmaster-General, and told a very shameful story about Wickliffe's employing one of these agents to electioneer against him, and for his competitor, a nephew of Wickliffe. Davis said he had charged this upon Wickliffe to his face, and twice told him it was a cowardly action, to which Wickliffe's only reply was, "That is a matter of opinion, Mr. Davis." Rathbun moved to strike out the appropriation for the special agents, to which Schenck moved an addition, to leave an appropriation of five thousand dollars to defray the expense of declaring frauds. This amendment was carried, and reported to the House, and the Navy Appropriation bill; and this, after some skirmishing, brought on a premeditated debate upon Texas. Holmes, of South Carolina, broached it in a set and labored speech; others will follow.

21st. At the House, L. Q. C. Elmer, Chairman of the Committee of Elections, presented a report from the majority of that committee on the petition of John M. Botts, contesting the election of John W. Jones, the Speaker of the House, who put Weller into the chair while this matter was before the House. The report was laid on the table, and ordered to be printed. The documents were ordered to be postponed till to-morrow, on the motion for printing them. Robert C. Schenck announced a minority report, to be presented hereafter.

Committee of the whole on the state of the Union, Dromgoole in the chair. Duncan moved to take up the bill for the occupation of Oregon, by extending over it the jurisdiction of the Territory of Iowa; and he called for tellers, who returned

the vote thirty to ninety-five. As I passed through the tellers in the negative, (I said) to Duncan, "Not quite yet, Doctor," and I might have said, "Not at all."

The Naval Appropriation bill was taken up. Parmenter had moved an amendment to specify some parts of the appropriation, and Cave Johnson moved to strike out all appropriation for the navy-yard at Washington, and to establish a navy-yard at Memphis, Tennessee. Sample and Ashe made warm speeches in favor of this amendment, whereupon Cave Johnson withdrew it, and Washington Hunt moved to limit the sum to be expended for the service of the navy, excepting for the navy-yard, to one-half the whole amount, before the 1st of January, 1845. Hunt supported his amendment with a speech, avowing his apprehension that the President will squander the appropriations to plunge the country into a war, by his usurpation of the constitutional power of Congress.

Archibald Atkinson then broke out with an annexation speech, backed by one from Robert Dale Owen, the Scotch infidel from Lanark. Morse made a short speech on the other side. James E. Belser followed with a red-hot Texan annexation speech, and was answered by Giddings with an intrepid exposure of the whole transaction of the Texan Treaty. He was frequently interrupted by several of the slavers in an overbearing and bullying tone, and in every instance met and signally discomfited them.

W. W. Payne swelled with venom like a toad, and threatened a resolution to maintain the dignity of the House; but Dromgoole pronounced it not in order, and McKay moved to take the bill out of committee to-morrow at three o'clock P.M. Adjourned after five.

22d. The meeting of the select committee on the Smithsonian bequest was appointed for half-past nine o'clock this morning, but, with myself, only three other members of the committee were in attendance—Brengle, Potter, and Yost; not a quorum. I read to them my draft of a bill for appropriating seven hundred thousand dollars from the Treasury for carrying into immediate effect the purposes of the testator—which they all approved; and they were also willing to report again the bill

which was reported in 1842. We adjourned to meet again next Saturday.

At the House, Belser, of Alabama, and Cobb, of Georgia, presented resolutions of meetings in those States in favor of the immediate annexation of Texas. Cave Johnson called up his motion to reconsider the order to print the documents reported by the Committee of Elections on the contest between Botts and Jones. The vote to reconsider passed without opposition, and then the consideration of the motion to print was postponed till next Saturday.

Then Hamilton Fish, of New York City, offered a resolution for the appointment of a select committee of five, to enquire and report to the House whether the franking privilege of any member of the House has been violated by any deputy postmaster, or officer of the Post-Office Department, under any regulation or instruction of the Department. Fish was at first screwed out of his motion, upon the point of order, by the Speaker; but he afterwards renewed and carried it by obtaining a suspension of the rules.

Committee of the whole on the state of the Union, Dromgoole in the chair. The Naval Appropriation bill was taken up, and debated till three o'clock, and then commenced the voting upon the multitude of proposed amendments, which continued till past four, when the committee rose. Several messages from the President were presented by the Speaker, among which, one in answer to the call of 3d January last for copies of the instructions to the squadrons on the coast of Africa. The copies are refused.

23d. I began the draft of a report to accompany the bill which I propose to report from the select committee on the Smithsonian bequest, but made little progress in it. I sat an hour to Mr. Cranch and Mr. Bingham for my portrait. At the House, Howell Cobb, of Georgia, made a desperate and repeated struggle to introduce and have printed a string of resolutions adopted at a small village popular meeting in Georgia. White objected—not to the reception or laying on the table of the resolutions, but to their being printed. Cobb persisted, and moved a suspension of the rules. White moved a call of the

House; lost—forty-two to one hundred and twenty-one; only one hundred and sixty-three in all, forty members absent or not voting. Cobb's motion to suspend the rules was lost—seventy-five to ninety-nine. Duncan L. Clinch moved to suspend the rules to introduce counter-resolutions; but the motion was not in order.

Committee of the whole on the state of the Union, Dromgoole in the chair. Naval Appropriation bill first taken up: numerous amendments proposed, and among them one by McKay, Chairman of the Committee of Ways and Means, of an additional appropriation of six or seven hundred thousand dollars to supply the deficiencies of last year's appropriation, upon a letter from the Secretary of the Navy, that the money had been expended. I asked whether this amendment could be debated. The Chairman said no; whereupon I objected to the reception of it, as not in order—the rule of the House prescribing that all appropriations shall be first discussed in committee of the whole. The Chairman declared the amendment in order. I appealed from the decision. The committee sustained the Chairman; but McKay withdrew his amendment, and said he would bring it in by a separate bill. The Post-Office Appropriation bill was afterwards taken up, and the amendment to abolish the special agents of the Post-Office Department was objected to—seventy-three to eighty-one. Then the Fortification bill, from the Senate, and the Louisiana Land Claim, followed, till half-past four, and the House adjourned.

24th. I found the House in session. Alcée La Branche was attempting to introduce resolutions of a meeting at New Orleans in favor of the re-annexation of Texas to the United States, and had moved to refer them to a select committee of five. After no small trickery to carry this point, Parmenter moved to lay the resolutions on the table. C. J. Ingersoll moved a call of the House; rejected—fifty-five to ninety-eight; and the resolutions were laid on the table—one hundred and three to seventy-eight. Joseph Vance, an Ohio Whig, moved that when the House should adjourn, it should be to Wednesday next. The motive was to give time to the members of the Democracy to attend the Democratic Convention to be held at Baltimore

next Monday to nominate candidates for election as President and Vice-President of the United States for four years from the 4th of March, 1845. Vance's motion was, that when the House should adjourn to-morrow, it should be to Wednesday, and he said he made it at their request. But they called the yeas and nays, and rejected the motion—forty-two to one hundred and seventeen.

Duncan moved to go into committee of the whole on the state of the Union, to take up the bill to extend the jurisdiction of the United States over the Territory of Oregon; lôst—eighty-five to eighty-nine.

Reports from committees were called for, and made in multitudes. Joseph R. Ingersoll obtained a suspension of the rules, and introduced a bill to amend the pension laws—referred to the committee of the whole on the state of the Union; and David L. Seymour moved immediately to go into that committee, to take up the Widows' Pension bill, which was done. The bill was debated till past four, and numerous amendments proposed and discussed—Vance still remonstrating that this was private-bill day. At last Garrett Davis moved an additional section, to extend the pension system to the warriors against the Indians until Wayne's Treaty of Greenville—which enlarged the debate till the committee rose, and the House adjourned.

25th. The meeting of the select committee on the Smithsonian bequest was fixed for this morning at half-past nine, but the only members who attended, except myself, were Brengle and French. I read my draft of a preliminary bill, to appropriate a sum sufficient to make the fund immediately available for application to the purposes of the testator, to Mr. French, who without hesitation approved it. I have, therefore, the consent of a majority of the committee to report it; but I was not ready with my report. It was agreed, therefore, that when my report is ready I shall call a meeting of the committee, for their final action upon the reference.

At the House, the journal of yesterday was only read in part. At the motion of John Slidell, of New Orleans, the reading was superseded, without objection, before it was half concluded. A bad practice, because it precludes the correction of errors,

which are frequent, and often important. Cave Johnson's motion to reconsider the order for printing the documents reported by the Committee of Elections in the contest between John W. Jones and John M. Botts, was postponed from Monday till Wednesday next. At Slidell's motion, the order was made that all debate in committee of the whole on the state of the Union on the bill in relation to the Louisiana Land Claims shall cease on Thursday next at four o'clock P.M.

Zadok Pratt, Chairman of the Committee on the Public Buildings and Grounds, reported sundry resolutions, of which was one directing the Commissioner of Public Buildings to remove the shed over the statue of Washington, in the square east of the Capitol, and sell it, and with the proceeds of the sale to pay for a suitable railing round the statue. Debate, and a violent speech of John P. Hale against the statue. Winthrop defended the sculptor, and, at his motion, the resolution was referred to a select committee of five.

Wentworth attempted to introduce a crazy or fraudulent memorial from Joe Smith, the Mormon prophet, which was not received—seventy-nine to eighty-six.

Committee of the whole on the private calendar, R. C. Winthrop in the chair. Ninety-six bills and resolutions were reported to the House without objection, and one, to which I objected too late. I appealed from the decision of the Chairman, but, on failure of a quorum, withdrew my appeal.

27th. This was the day on which the two Democratic Conventions to nominate candidates for the offices of President and Vice-President of the United States for four years from the 4th of March next, were held at Baltimore, and also a Convention to nominate a candidate for the office of Governor of Maryland. By the new invention of the electro-magnetic telegraph of Professor Morse, the proceedings of these bodies throughout the day were made known here at the Capitol, and announced as soon as received, in manuscript bulletins suspended to the wall in the rotunda. I gave an hour's sitting to Mr. Cranch and Mr. Bingham, after calling at the National Intelligencer office and leaving with Mr. Gales a continued list of petitions presented by me since the 5th of April, and with it I left the

Boston Courier of the 14th, containing the memorial relating to the statistics of the census, which I requested Mr. Gales to republish, with a reference asterisk from the entry of the memorial on my list. The use made by John C. Calhoun, in his correspondence with Mr. Pakenham, of the enormous blunders in the census, and his prevarication in denying in an official report that any errors had been discovered in the census, betray so total a disregard of all moral principle that it can be attributed only to the alternative of absence of honesty or of mental sanity. 'Tis the fanaticism of the slave-monger.

At the House, the business of the day dragged heavily along. About seventy members, chiefly of the Democratic majority, were absent at Baltimore; yet enough remained to control the action of the House and dictate what should be done. Mr. Grinnell offered a resolution requesting the joint Committee on the Library to consider the expediency of publishing three thousand copies of certain surveys of the exploring expedition, and selling them to defray the cost of the publication; which was adopted.

Committee of the whole on the state of the Union, Reuben Chapman, of Alabama, in the chair; and George S. Houston, of the same Alabama, drove through two land bills, which were reported to the House. Weller moved to adjourn over to Wednesday, but, on call of the yeas and nays, withdrew the motion. I had insisted upon a call of the yeas and nays, to ascertain the quorum in the House—one hundred and ten and nineteen. Adjourned at three. I went into the Senate-chamber, and heard William C. Rives close a three hours' tariff speech.

28th. At the House, there was a quorum of one hundred and thirty-five members in attendance, under the dominion of Weller, unable to make a majority for his mischievous purposes, but sufficient to defeat any purpose of good by withholding votes necessary to make a quorum. His course was: 1. He moved to go into committee of the whole on the state of the Union, to take up some pet measure of his own. His motion failed. Other motions were made to go into committee, which he defeated. Vance moved to take up the private bills, unobjectionable, reported to the House last Saturday. Weller

said, no, he would take up no private bill in the absence of his friend from Tennessee, Cave Johnson, the scourge of all claimants.

At last, Daniel L. Seymour carried a vote to go into committee of the whole on the state of the Union, with a view to take up the Widows' Pension bill. John White was Chairman of the committee. When the motion was made to take up the bill, Weller called for a division. The votes were three to one for taking up the bill, but Weller and his gang, by not voting at all, prevented a quorum vote. Tellers were called. Four times over the count was repeated, and no quorum voted. The last count showed eighty-one to twenty-nine, requiring only one vote more to make a quorum. Weller, at the issue of every count, insisted that the committee should rise and report no quorum to the House. He finally prevailed, and, it being evident that no business could be done, the House, between one and two, adjourned.

I had an hour of conversation with D. D. Barnard, Joseph R. Ingersoll, and other Whigs impatient to impeach Tyler for his manifold usurpations and violations of the Constitution; which I dissuaded as impracticable, or a cracked gun-barrel, fit only to explode in the hand of him who would use it. The electro-magnetic telegraph, at the east end of the Capitol, was all day reporting every half-hour the proceedings of the Conventions at Baltimore. The Tyler Convention adjourned without nominating a Vice-President. The Democratic National Convention adopted the two-thirds rule, and balloted seven times between Van Buren and Cass, without coming to a choice.

29th. It is impossible for me to describe the anxieties under which my soul is oppressed, and which I am compelled to suppress, with reliance only upon superior power to relieve me from them, and with no hope of other relief than from the close of life, and the transition to another state of existence. The deepest of my afflictions is the degeneracy of my country from the principles which gave her existence, and the ruin irreparable of them all, under the transcendent power of slavery and the slave-representation.

At the House, there was a call of the yeas and nays on the passage of a bill to require the execution of bonds by Collectors of the Customs before taking the oath of office, to ascertain if there was a quorum present. The vote was one hundred and twenty-six to one nay. The consideration of the report of the Committee of Elections on the contested election between the Speaker Jones and John M. Botts was postponed till next Friday. Several successive motions to go into committee of the whole on the state of the Union were made and rejected, till one made by McKay, with notice of his intention to call up the Naval Appropriation bill, succeeded.

The House went into committee, Weller in the chair, and took up, not the Naval Appropriation, but the Widows' Pension bill. Sundry languid, prosy speeches in support of Garrett Davis's amendment to extend the pension laws to the combatants against Indians till Wayne's Treaty of Greenville of 1795, and a further amendment to extend the system to the war of 1812 with Great Britain.

Andrew Stewart rose, and said he proposed to make a speech about the tariff. Objection was immediately made to his proceeding, on the ground that anything he could say upon the tariff would be irrelevant. The Chairman, after some hesitation, so decided, from which decision Stewart appealed. The vote on the appeal was fifty-four to four—not within sight of a quorum. The committee rose, and before two the House adjourned. I walked home.

The Democratic National Convention at Baltimore this day unanimously nominated James K. Polk, of Tennessee, their candidate for the office of President of the United States for four years from the 4th of March next, and Silas Wright, of New York, as Vice-President. B. F. Butler withdrew the name of Van Buren by his own authority. Wright declined the nomination.

30th. In preparing the report to the House of the select committee on the Smithson bequest, I found it advisable to ascertain at the Treasury Department whether any further payment of interest upon any of the State bonds has been made into the Treasury since the letter of the Secretary, John C.

Spencer, of 19th February last, referred to the committee. I called at the Department, and Mr. Young, the Chief Clerk and Acting Secretary, informed me that no additional payment has been made.

At the House, most of the Democratic members who have been absent attending the Convention at Baltimore had returned. Silas Wright having finally declined their nomination of him as Vice-President, they nominated George M. Dallas, of Pennsylvania, for that office; then passed resolutions for the immediate occupation of Texas and of Oregon; and then adjourned, with a solemn protest of one of the delegates from the State of Missouri against the whole proceedings, and a declaration that Missouri would not confirm them.

In the House, a joint resolution for taking sundry inventories of public property and a catalogue of the document library of the House was introduced by Zadok Pratt, and, after some discussion, referred to the Joint Committee on the Library of Congress. I moved to add a consideration of the expediency of printing a tenth volume of the United States Laws. Pratt declined adopting my amendment. His resolution was adopted, and mine was received and passed in the form of a resolution requiring the Clerk of the House to have a tenth volume of the laws published.

Committee of the whole on the state of the Union, Weller in the chair. Campbell attempted to call up the District Banks bill, by appealing to the sympathies of the members, stating that he wanted to go to Philadelphia to take medical advice; but in vain. The Widows' Pension bill was taken up, and, after two or three more speeches for the warriors of the West, Garrett Davis's motion to pension them, and its rider, were rejected, and the bill was laid aside to be reported to the House. The Louisiana Land Title bill was then debated till four o'clock, when it had been ordered that the bill should be taken out of the committee. Sundry amendments were proposed; but as soon as a question arose upon which a division was called there was no quorum voting. The committee rose, and the House adjourned.

31st. I finished the draft of a report from the select com-

mittee on the Smithsonian bequest, but, in the process of preparing it, changed my purpose from the design of reporting two bills to that of including the whole subject in one.

At the House I presented, by leave of the House, a petition of Tarr and a hundred and seventy-nine citizens of Pennsylvania, native Americans, praying for an alteration of the naturalization laws, to require twenty-five years of naturalization residence for the admission of foreigners to the political rights of native Americans. The petitioners, not one of whom is personally known to me, requested me in presenting it to the House to give my opinion upon its merits. This required of me a painful operation; for I do not approve the change of the law petitioned for, and know that an odious coloring will be given to the mere presentation of the petition. But I did not feel it becoming in me to refuse to present the petition, nor yet to shrink from the avowal of my opinion against it. I therefore presented the petition, stated the facts, and said, as the petitioners had chosen to call for my opinion, I felt myself obliged to say that I could not support its prayer. I moved its reference to the Judiciary Committee.

J. W. Brown, of Indiana, and Hammett, of Mississippi, moved to lay it on the table; which was carried, by yeas and nays—one hundred and twenty-eight to twenty-six. Charles J. Ingersoll voted first no, and after the close of the call changed his vote.

The Senate this morning concurred with the joint resolution from the House, to close the session on the 17th of next month.

Willoughby Newton presented a report from the minority of the Committee of Elections, on the contested election between the Speaker and Botts. Both the reports come to the same conclusion, that Jones was duly elected. There was some argument that there was no question left for debate; but after discussion it was finally concluded to postpone the consideration of the resolution till next Thursday, and that Botts should, if he desired it, be heard at the bar in support of his claim. The motion to print the voluminous testimony in the case was laid on the table.

Vance made a motion to take up the bills on the private calendar; but Cave Johnson moved to go into committee of the whole on the state of the Union, and prevailed. The Louisiana Land Claims, the dead horses of Georgia, and the establishment of a navy-yard at Memphis, Tennessee, occupied the remainder of the day. Riotous Democratic mass-meeting, to confirm the nomination of Polk and Dallas.

June 1st. I had called a final meeting of the select committee on the Smithsonian bequest, at half-past nine this morning, and yesterday sent round by one of the pages a notification to all the members of the committee in the House. I had also personally notified George S. Houston; but the only members who attended were Brengle, French, and Yost, to whom I read the report and bill that I had prepared, both which they approved, and authorized me to present, after obtaining the consent of one more member of the committee, to the House. That consent I afterwards obtained from Emery D. Potter, the member from Ohio.

At the House, there was an hour's debate on two resolutions offered by Parmenter: 1. That the daily hour of meeting henceforth should be ten o'clock A.M. 2. That the House should daily take a recess from two to four o'clock P.M. To which Charles J. Ingersoll offered as an amendment, that the House should sit till eight o'clock every evening. There was no opposition to the first resolution; which was at last unanimously adopted. But White, Speaker of the last House, strenuously opposed the second resolution for the daily recess, which he urged experience had proved to be worse than useless waste of time. It was struck out, by tellers—sixty-five to sixty-one. Ingersoll's amendment was declared by the Speaker to be not in order, the motion to adjourn being, by a rule of the House, always in order.

Reding moved that debate should cease on the Memphis Navy-Yard bill in one hour after it shall be taken up in committee of the whole on the state of the Union. Ashe pleaded hard for two hours, and then for an hour and a half; which was carried. Waddy Thompson has just returned from his mission to Mexico, and greeted me with kindness for Massa-

chusetts of outward cordiality—the snake! Robert C. Winthrop told me he had received a letter from his relative George W. Erving, relating in part to me, and of which he gave me the general purport, to be remembered.

2d. I received yesterday a printed note of invitation: "Rachel Priestman, a minister of the gospel in the Society of Friends, has appointed a meeting for divine worship to be held in the Capitol to-morrow morning, at eleven o'clock, to which thou art respectfully invited."

I attended accordingly. She preached from the Clerk's table, where two men and two women of her company were seated with her. After sitting about twenty minutes in silence, she took off and laid aside her black bonnet, and, rising, began rather suddenly, "This is a faithful saying, and worthy of all acceptation, that Christ Jesus came into the world to save sinners." From this text, 1 Timothy i. 15, without so naming it, she discoursed nearly an hour, in the peculiar canting tone of Quaker oratory—slow, distinct, and loud articulation, without a moment's loss for words, but within almost every sentence a pause and hitch to take breath, repeating almost every verse in Paul's Epistles impressing the doctrine of salvation by faith in Christ Jesus. Her exhortations were full of unction and intensity. She finished as abruptly as she had begun, and sat down apparently exhausted. The House was well filled and attentive. Some of the auditory, thinking the service over, began to move, but a man of her company requested them not to depart, and they resumed their seats. After an interval of about five minutes, she kneeled and made a fervent, affectionate, and passionate prayer in behalf of her hearers, not omitting a supplication to God to turn their hearts to dissolve the ties of bondage, and let the oppressed go free. After the service was over she came, with her husband, I suppose, to my seat, and shook hands with me, as did with Mr. Giddings a young woman from Ohio, named .

3d. As I was stepping into my carriage this morning to go to the Capitol, I met Mr. Giddings with Mr. Bigelow, agent for the heirs of Francis Casaux, who were coming to see me. This Casaux claim, now of sixty-seven years' standing, was

before the House last Saturday, in the shape of a bill for the relief of the heirs of Francis Casaux, reported by the committee of the whole, and put upon its passage for engrossment. The bill was opposed, and I made some remarks expressing my doubts if there was any good foundation for the claim. The bill was laid on the table. Mr. Bigelow came to convince me of the justice of the claim. Mr. Giddings, having to call at a Department, went on. Mr. Bigelow took a seat with me and went with me to the Capitol, reminding me on the way of his application to me, as long since as 1832, for my testimony in this case, which then, or afterwards, I gave in writing. He brought me a report from the late Virgil Maxcy, when Solicitor of the Treasury, in favor of the claim. A motion was made by Dean, of Ohio, to reconsider the vote laying the bill on the table, and then the discussion was postponed to Friday next.

Charles J. Ingersoll moved a resolution for a special assignment of next Monday and Tuesday for the consideration and determination of such questions as are pending under treaties between the United States and Portugal, the Netherlands, and Spain, and the resolution concerning the reciprocity treaties with Denmark, Sweden, the Hanse Towns, and Great Britain. He dragooned the House into hearing his resolution read. Objections swarmed. He moved a suspension of the rules to enable him to present the resolution, and called the yeas and nays; lost—seventy-eight and eighty-four.

Committee of the whole on the state of the Union, John W. Davis in the chair, on the Civil and Diplomatic Appropriation bill. When it came to the item of stationery, Pollock moved a proviso that the stationery should be purchased of American manufacture; and this sprung a debate upon the Presidential election, the Democratic National Convention, Clay, Van Buren, Polk, Tariff, Texas, Oregon, Mexico, Lord Aberdeen, and Democracy.

Edward Joy Morris began the chase by denouncing the nomination of James K. Polk as the Democratic candidate for the Presidency. W. W. Payne, John J. Hardin, John P. Hale, Douglas, Schenck, and Belser bandied to and fro the party footballs, with an episode of insult and defiance between Charles J.

Ingersoll and Hale, till near five o'clock, when the committee rose, and the House adjourned.

4th. At the House, Charles J. Ingersoll offered a resolution calling on the President for all the correspondence with the British Government relating to the exaction by them of duties on rough rice contrary to the Treaty of 1815. There was a snake under this foliage, for Ingersoll said it was harmless. But Cave Johnson moved an amendment, calling for all the documents relating to the Texan Treaty. Ingersoll objected to this amendment, and advised and persuaded Johnson to withdraw it, till at last he promised that all these documents shall be communicated to the House; whereupon Cave withdrew his amendment, and Ingersoll's resolution was adopted.

McKay then moved the resolution to cease debate in committee of the whole on the state of the Union on the Civil and Diplomatic Appropriation bill, and take it out of committee, at twelve o'clock to-morrow. There was great pleading by White, Barnard, and others, to extend the time to Friday or Thursday, or to four o'clock or two o'clock P.M. To all such motions McKay stood inflexible, and called the previous question, which was sustained and carried. There will, of course, be not one word of debate on this bill bearing on the appropriations or having any reference to the bill itself—not one word relevant to the subject before the House. And so it would be if the debate were protracted to the last hour of the session.

The House then went immediately into committee of the whole on the state of the Union, John W. Davis in the chair. George Rathbun took the floor, and poured forth an hour of glory and defence upon Martin Van Buren and of vilification of Henry Clay. Summers followed on the other side. Then, alternately, came Houston, with McClernand, Peyton, Saunders, Bidlack, and Foote, of Vermont, till near eight o'clock in the evening. Foote's speech was the most eloquent and the most decent of them all. Several motions for the committee to rise were voted down, till twilight came, when, on taking the question upon a motion to rise, the majority voted against rising, but the whole vote was only ninety-one; no quorum. The committee then rose per force, and reported no quorum.

A motion to adjourn was rejected. A call of the House was refused, by yeas and nays—forty-four to fifty-one. Motions to adjourn to eight, to six, and to four o'clock to-morrow morning were made till after the lights had been brought into the hall. The House adjourned to the usual time.

5th. At the House, immediately after the reading of the journal, I asked leave to present a report and bill from the select committee on the Smithsonian bequest; but McKay, Chairman of the Committee of Ways and Means, moved to suspend the rules and go into committee of the whole on the state of the Union, and refused to allow me time to present my report and bill.

The House went into committee, John W. Davis in the chair, and took up the Civil and Diplomatic Appropriation bill. Henley, of Indiana, had the floor, and made one of the bitterest and most violent speeches against the Whigs and Henry Clay that was ever delivered in the House. He spoke of Pollock's amendment, requiring stationery of American manufacture, as a species of Whig humbuggery which was an insult to the American people, and, when called by name on the yeas and nays taken on this amendment, he voted for it. The temper of the speech was in full keeping with its conclusion, which was, the standard of Henry Clay should consist of his armorial bearings, which ought to be a pistol, a pack of cards, and a brandy-bottle.

Tibbetts took the last hour of the debate, allowing only ten minutes of it to Thomasson to back him in a motion to appropriate five hundred and fifty thousand dollars to purchase a remnant of stock in the Louisville and Portland Canal to make it toll free. At twelve o'clock the debate ceased, and the voting commenced on the amendments, and continued till past four, many of which were rejected and a few were adopted.

Pratt, Chairman of the Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds, moved a whole bill of amendments usually presented in a separate bill; and I moved, as an amendment to this amendment, an item of one thousand dollars to erect in the Congressional burying-ground a monument over the remains of the late Major-General Alexander Macomb.

The Chairman decided Pratt's amendment and mine to be in order, and out of order, three or four times, and finished by admitting Pratt's items one by one, and excluding mine. When the bill was reported to the House, Tibbetts renewed his motion for an appropriation to purchase the canal stock; but the Speaker ruled it out of order. The House then adjourned.

6th. At the House, Duncan had made a motion on the General Appropriation bill of an amendment to the item for refurnishing the President's house, that no part of the appropriation should be applied to the purchase of wine. This was meant as a sly insinuation against H. Clay. But Hamlin had taken fire, and moved a committee of enquiry to ascertain when and by whom wine had ever been purchased under the name of furniture; but Pratt, Chairman of the Committee on the Public Buildings and Grounds, declared that he had examined all the accounts, and that no such charge had ever been made.

Hammett made enquiry whether any answer had been received from the call heretofore made by Dixon H. Lewis, for documents relating to the negotiations with Spain in 1816, 1817, 1818, and 1819; but the answer has not yet been received.

The reports, majority and minority, on the contested election between the Speaker and John M. Botts had been made the special order of this day. Both the reports were in favor of Jones; but a resolution had passed that Botts should be heard in support of his claim to the seat, if he desired.

The first question was, whether the competitors, in arguing their claims, should be limited by the hour rule; and, after much debate, it was decided, by yeas and nays, that they should be. The acting Speaker, Weller, so decided. Garrett Davis appealed from the decision. Cobb moved to lay the appeal on the table; carried—one hundred and two to seventy-six. I spoke against this construction of the rule.

Botts and Jones addressed the House for one hour, and they were both arrested without closing their argument.

Elmer, Chairman of the committee, then spoke in support of the resolution, declaring Jones duly elected and entitled to his seat. After which there was some jarring between Willoughby Newton and Hannibal Hamlin, members of the committee; and

the vote by nominal call was answered one hundred and fifty in the affirmative, none in the negative.

7th. At the House, McKay called for the consideration of the Civil and Diplomatic and the Navy Appropriation bills, and Vance, Chairman of the Committee of Claims, expressed a willingness to pass over the private bills for this day, upon condition that they shall be taken up to-morrow. But he pleaded for a short slip of time to call for the reports of committees. Cave Johnson called on the Speaker for a letter from Charles A. Wickliffe, Postmaster-General, referring to a charge against him for official malversation, made on the 20th of last month by Garrett Davis, declaring the charge in every sense untrue, and that he is prepared to prove it so, and demanding an enquiry by order of the House.

Garrett Davis said that he had stated the facts, and was prepared to prove them all true. As to the guilt of the Postmaster, he left that to be inferred from the facts which he had stated; and if Mr. Wickliffe wanted enquiry as to the facts stated by him, he was perfectly willing, and even to extend the enquiry to other charges against the Postmaster-General, of similar character.

Cave then moved to refer the letter to the Committee of Post-Offices and Post-Roads, with liberty to send for persons and papers. Cave slyly observed that Garrett Davis's charge this day was a little different from that which he had made before.

Davis demanded in what particular it differed; and Cave had no reply to make. His motion to refer the charges to the Committee of Post-Offices and Post-Roads was adopted; but Davis's motion to extend the enquiry was lost.

McKay reported the bill making appropriations for the unlawful naval expenditures.

I moved to lay the bill on the table; lost—ayes forty-five. It was referred to the committee of the whole on the state of the Union, where, Barnard told me, he wanted to debate it.

Burke made a voluminous report from the select committee on the Rhode Island Rebellion, and moved that it be printed, and postponed to the first Monday in December next; which,

after some debate, was carried, with agreement that a minority report, promised by Causin, shall also be printed.

I presented the report and bill from the select committee on the Smithsonian bequest, which were referred to the committee of the whole on the state of the Union, and ordered to be printed.

The Civil and Diplomatic and the Navy Appropriation bills were taken up, and driven through; and just before five o'clock the House adjourned.

8th. My morning hours after rising are so constantly absorbed by newspaper reading, and the evening hours by company or disability, that I have no time, except during the session of the House, to make up my record from day to day, which, in the course of six hours, I am usually just able to do.

At the House, Hopkins, Chairman of the Committee on Post-Offices and Post-Roads, gave notice that he would, next Monday, move to go into committee of the whole on the state of the Union, to take up the Post-Office bills; of which there are three—one from the Senate, one from the majority and one from the minority of the House committee—each accompanied with a bill, and based upon antagonistic principles. All agree that some modification of the existing system is indispensable, or the General Post-Office will be ruined.

Newton moved that Mr. Botts and the Speaker should have leave respectively to withdraw, each for himself, the testimony which he had produced before the Committee of Elections; but objections were made. An amendment was first moved that they should have leave to take copies; and then it was remarked that they had a right to take copies without needing a resolution of the House; and the motion was laid on the table. Garrett Davis renewed the question he had yesterday made: what Cave Johnson had meant by saying that his charge against the Postmaster-General yesterday was different from that which he had made, and upon which Mr. Wickliffe, by his letter to the Speaker, demanded investigation. Wickliffe's letter alleges that Davis had positively charged him with sending his agent into Davis's district to interfere in the election, against Davis and for his competitor, Wickliffe's nephew. Davis had

stated facts leading to that conclusion, and said he left the House to draw their own conclusion.

Cave Johnson rather retreated from the discussion, and Davis moved a suspension of the rules for a resolution of enquiry by the Post-Office Committee generally, of malversation by the Postmaster-General. The suspension of the rules was refused —sixty to sixty-six.

The House passed two bills relating to affairs of the District, and laid on the table several others; passed the grant to the heirs of Cazaux; carried the previous question for the Louisiana Land bill, and then adjourned.

After dinner, at the President's grounds, met Garrett Davis, John J. Hardin, and John H. Eaton. The Senate rejected the Texan Treaty—Hannegan absent.

10th. The vote in the United States Senate on the question of advising and consenting to the Texan Treaty was: Yeas, Atchison, Bagby, Breese, Buchanan, Colquitt, Fulton, Haywood, Henderson, Huger, Lewis, McDuffie, Semple, Sevier, Sturgeon, Walker, Woodbury—sixteen; nays, Allen, Archer, Atherton, Barrow, Bates, Bayard, Benton, Berrien, Choate, Clayton, Crittenden, Dayton, Evans, Fairfield, Foster, Francis, Huntington, Jarnagin, Johnson, Mangum, Merrick, Miller, Morehead, Niles, Pearce, Phelps, Porter, Rives, Simmons, Tallmadge, Tappan, Upham, White, Woodbridge, Wright—thirty-five; Hannegan absent. I record this vote as a deliverance, I trust, by the special interposition of Almighty God, of my country and of human liberty from a conspiracy comparable to that of Lucius Sergius Catilina. May it prove not a mere temporary deliverance, like that, only preliminary to the fatally successful conspiracy of Julius Cæsar! The annexation of Texas to this Union is the first step to the conquest of all Mexico, of the West India Islands, of a maritime, colonizing, slave-tainted monarchy, and of extinguished freedom.

At the House, Woodward was allowed to present resolutions of a meeting in South Carolina in favor of the annexation of Texas, and David L. Seymour presented resolutions of a meeting in Rensselaer County, New York, against it; both were laid

on the table. W. J. Browne moved to suspend the rules, to make the Senate bill of appropriation for the continuation of the Cumberland Road; lost, by yeas and nays—eighty-two to eighty-three.

Ellis moved to go into committee of the whole on the state of the Union, to take up the Post-Office bill. All this time I was calling out at the top of my voice, "Mr. Speaker," to ask leave to present two petitions from Native Americans for alterations of the naturalization laws; but the Speaker would not hear me. I called upon Ellis to withdraw his motion for me to present these petitions, merely to have them referred to the Judiciary Committee. Ellis haggled about withdrawing his motion till Bidlack took the floor from him, and, after dilly-dallying nearly a quarter of an hour whether he would or would not say what he had to say, closed by announcing the death of his colleague, Almon H. Read, on the 2d of this month, at his home in Pennsylvania, and he pronounced a strange eulogy on him, and offered the usual obituary resolutions, and the House adjourned.

I went into the Senate-chamber, and heard Thomas H. Benton introduce his bill for the annexation of Texas and make a two-hours' speech in support of it.

11th. The compositor of the Globe office sent me proof-sheets of the Smithsonian Bequest bill, reported by me from the committee to the House, in which there were several errors. I corrected them last evening, and took the corrected bill back to the office. I requested a proof copy of the report also, when printed.

At the House, Weller attempted to introduce a resolution to give gratuities to the messengers and pages, as usual at the close of a session, but failed. Cave Johnson moved to go into committee of the whole on the state of the Union, but withdrew it to allow me to ask leave to present two petitions for the alteration of the naturalization laws. I moved to suspend the rules, but on taking the yeas and nays the vote stood thirty-five to ninety-four. Dromgoole asked if the petitions could be received under the rule by entering them at the Clerk's table, and was answered that they would.

Two messages were received from the President, one communicating the treaty for the annexation of Texas, recently rejected by the Senate, with all the documents relating to the treaty published by the Senate and others, with a message of 16th May, not published by the Senate, and calling on Congress to accomplish the annexation.

J. P. Kennedy moved to lay this message on the table; lost —sixty-six to one hundred and eighteen; by previous question it was referred to the Committee of Foreign Affairs. Weller moved to suspend the rules for a motion to print fifteen thousand copies of the message; lost—one hundred and eight to seventy-nine; not two-thirds.

I moved to suspend the rules to offer two resolutions declaring the exclusive constitutional power of Congress to declare war, and that any attempt by the President to negotiate the country into a war by treaty would be a violation of the exclusive constitutional authority of the House; lost—seventy-eight to one hundred and eight.

The other message was a veto of the Eastern Harbor bill, upon which, by a rank cheat, and the previous question, the vote on the bill was forced, and failed for lack of two-thirds—one hundred and three to eighty-three.

The Naval Pension bill, the naval depot at Memphis, Tennessee, and the District Banks bill, consumed the remainder of the day. The Naval Pension bill went from the committee of the whole on the state of the Union, Hannibal Hamlin in the chair, to the House, and passed. The distributions of debate on the District banks to read it through were loaded with ribald invective against the Whigs; answered by Causin till the adjournment.

12th. At the House, as the journal was being read, there was a marked omission in the proceedings of yesterday. I intended to move an amendment to supply the omitted part—when I was called out from my seat to Mr. Brewer, who delivered me a letter of introduction from Robert Monroe Harrison, Consul of the United States at Kingston, Jamaica. Brewer is owner of a vessel just arrived at Alexandria from Jamaica, and going to Calais, Maine, where he belongs. I was out about ten minutes,

and lost the opportunity of moving the amendment to the journal.

The Army Appropriation bill, returned from the Senate with all the curtailments restored, was referred to the Committee of Ways and Means.

Aaron V. Brown made a personal explanation, giving the lie inferential to a paragraph in the Globe, being a part of a speech of Thomas H. Benton in the Senate yesterday.

Hopkins moved a joint resolution to pay half the funeral expenses of the victims of the explosion of the Princeton's "Peacemaker" from the contingent fund of the House, the other half to be paid from the contingent fund of the Senate. It was a very questionable measure, both of constitutional and expedient argument; but after sundry twistings it was carried, by yeas and nays—one hundred and three to sixty-three.

After much struggling, Campbell carried his resolution to take the District Banks bill out of committee of the whole at half-past twelve o'clock, and the House went into committee upon it, Hannibal Hamlin Chairman. It was overloaded with vexatious amendments, but was finally reported to the House.

Committee of the whole on the state of the Union again, Dromgoole in the chair, and Hopkins's penal Post-Office bill was taken up and obstinately debated. Dana made a hard push to substitute the Senate bill for reducing the rates of postage, but failed. Hungerford moved a reconsideration of the vote of yesterday upon the vetoed Eastern Harbor bill. The Speaker decided that the motion was not in order; from which decision I took an appeal. A motion to lay my appeal on the table (was made), but was lost. A motion for the previous question upon it was also lost. It was six o'clock, and the House (adjourned).

The Portuguese Chargé d'Affaires, Figaniere, called on me this evening, extremely urgent to have the bill reported by the Committee of Foreign Affairs in favor of an official claim by him, taken up and passed by the House.

13th. I had little time this morning to prepare for the discussion of the question upon my appeal last evening from the

decision of the Speaker upon the motion to reconsider the vote on the vetoed treaty. There was a debate of three hours upon the question in the House, but the decision of the Speaker was sustained, by yeas and nays—ninety-seven to eighty-five.

Jameson, of Missouri, by suspended rules, offered and carried a resolution to take a recess from half-past two till four o'clock P.M. this day, and the succeeding days till the close of the session. I gave a letter of introduction to Edward Everett, our Minister at London, for George Rogers Clark, a son of the late Governor William Clark, of Missouri, going to England for his wife's health. Committee of the whole on the state of the Union, Dromgoole in the chair.

The supplementary Naval Appropriation was taken up. D. D. Barnard moved an amendment, more explicitly declaring than McKay had done in his bill that almost the whole of these expenditures had been incurred not only without authority of law, but in defiance of law. Barnard was followed by Ezra Dean, one of the rankest radicals in the House, who pronounced a philippic of an hour upon all parties, upon the last and the present Congress, interspersed with special venomous thrusts at the Whigs, bewailing his disappointment in the expectation of reform, and declaring that he would never take the name of reform in any other sense than as a humbug, with unmitigated contempt.

McKay commenced the defence of his bill, but was interrupted by the time for recess.

I went and dined with Kennedy and Winthrop. It was five o'clock when we returned to the House.

The Naval Appropriation bill, supplementary, had been resumed. Mr. Barnard's amendment was adopted, and the bill was passed.

The penal Post-Office bill was taken up in committee of the whole on the state of the Union, Hamlin Chairman, after a vote to take it out of committee in five minutes.

D. D. Barnard asked leave to present, and moved to suspend the rules for, two resolutions of censure upon Tyler's usurpations; suspension refused, by yeas and nays—fifty-six to one

hundred and twenty-three. The Light-House bill, Army Appropriation bill, Western Land Sales bill, and Georgia Dead Horse bill were successively taken up, and buffeted along in committee, and in the House, till half-past ten at night, when the House adjourned, and I came home.

14th. At the House, this was the second of the last days of agonizing confusion usual at the close of a session of Congress. It passes a sponge upon my memory, so that it is impossible to record the course of business, and I can notice only a few of the incidents of the day. There have been majority and minority reports from Burke's select committee on the Rhode Island memorial. Burke failed this day in a motion to print five thousand copies of his incendiary report.

Upon a Senate bill to fix the northern boundary of Missouri, Augustus Dodge, the delegate from the Territory of Iowa, hitched in an amendment authorizing the people of that Territory to form a State Government, with a surface of more than one hundred thousand square miles.

The plundering Louisiana Land Claim bill was earnestly opposed by Samuel F. Vinton, until the hour of the recess, when I came home and dined.

A message was received from the President, with a large budget of the correspondence of George W. Erving, in Spain, from 1815 to 1819, not heretofore made public. It was the answer to the call of the House, moved by Dixon H. Lewis, 20th April, before his transfer to the Senate. I cursorily read over the papers, and found abundant evidence to falsify the pretension of George W. Erving that he could have negotiated a boundary even to the Colorado; but his instructions were not included in D. H. Lewis's call. This afternoon I asked him to present a resolution calling on the President for them. Reding objected. I moved and carried a suspension of the rules, and the resolution was adopted.

The Louisiana Land Claim bill, after a stubborn struggle, was passed, by yeas and nays—eighty-six to eighty-four. A reconsideration was afterwards moved, but the bill had been sent to the Senate, and White objected that in such case there could be no reconsideration.

Committee of the whole on the state of the Union, Hopkins in the chair. The amendments of the Senate to the Civil and Diplomatic, Army, Indian, and Pension bills were discussed, and reported to the House, which adjourned after eleven at night.

15th. I found the House in a chaos of confusion, with two stupid resolutions against the Bank of the United States reported from the Committee of Elections by Cheselden Ellis, one of the weakest and most worthless turncoats in the House. They had been sprung this morning without notice or consultation with the minority of the Committee of Elections, and by the screw of the previous question, moved by Ellis, were crammed down with the yeas and nays—one hundred and eight to sixty-eight. A meaner and more despicable fraud was never perpetrated. There was something of consolation in what followed. Charles J. Ingersoll rose, and, without making any motion, insinuated that the journal of 31st May required amendment. It was there stated that I had presented a petition from citizens of Pennsylvania for an alteration of the naturalization laws, and that it had been laid on the table. Since then he had received many letters enquiring into the facts, and, upon applying to the Clerk, had been told that the petition had been withdrawn by me. If the petition was not on the Clerk's table the journal ought not to show that it had been laid there.

The petition was in my drawer. I took it out, held it up, and said that in my anxiety to have it referred to the committee, after enquiring of the Clerk whether it could not be so referred from the table without new application to the House, and being informed that it could not, I had borrowed it yesterday for the express purpose of moving that it be taken up and referred to the Judiciary Committee, which now I did.

The Speaker said it could only be entertained by universal consent.

I asked it.

Charles faintly said he saw no reason that it should not be so referred. Reding objected. I moved a suspension of the rules, and carried it by an overwhelming shout. Opposition slunk into silence, and the petition was referred to the Judiciary

Committee—the same petition which, sixteen days ago, by yeas and nays—one hundred and twenty-eight to twenty-four —the House refused to refer, and laid it on the table.

Ingersoll has raised a hornets' nest about his ears by his double vote, first against, and then for, laying the petition on the table. He has published a letter to his constituents of the Fourth Congressional District of Pennsylvania, to account for his double vote. His chief reasons are that the other Pennsylvania members, save two, voted as he did at last, and that the petition was presented by me. He did not like the auspices.

While the House was in its Babel state this morning, I went for a long hour into the Senate-chamber, where I found George McDuffie closing a violent and rancorous speech against Thomas Hart Benton and his bill for the annexation of Texas. The bill was already laid on the table, but McDuffie had obtained leave to answer Benton's speech on introducing his bill. McDuffie's speech was unsparing upon Benton, and his reply of about one hour was so merciless and personal that nothing but bodily fear could have withheld the hand of McDuffie from a challenge; but he put up with it, quiet as a lamb.

I returned to the House, where the Louisiana Land bill, returned from the Senate at the request of the House, was reconsidered; and, after a metamorphosis striking out all but one section, it was passed and sent to the Senate again. From half-past two to four o'clock P.M. I came home and dined, and returned to the House. During the whole day, and till after midnight, the Appropriation bills, Civil and Diplomatic, Army, Navy, and Indian, were time after time before the House, in and out of committee of the whole on the state of the Union, upon amendments pending between the two Houses, and reports of committees of conference on disagreeing votes. In almost every instance the House finished by receding, as they did without one exception, from all their retrenchments; though McKay had sworn to me that he would lose the Civil and Diplomatic and the Army bill sooner than give up the retrenchments which his committee had introduced into them, and which the House had sanctioned; but, after a second conference, he gave them all up, and the House submitted.

16th. After the morning service I had a visit from Daniel D. Barnard to take leave, and a long conversation with him. This Texas annexation we deem the turning-point of a revolution which transforms the North American Confederation into a conquering and warlike nation. Aggrandizement will be its passion and its policy. A military government, a large army, a costly navy, distant colonies, and associate islands in every sea, will follow of course in rapid succession. A President for four years will be a laughing-stock. A Captain-General for life, and a Marshal's truncheon for a sceptre, will establish the law of arms for the Constitution, and the skeleton forms of war and slavery will stalk unbridled over the land. Blessed God, deliver us from this fate!

17th. The first shock of slave Democracy is over. Moloch and Mammon have sunk into momentary slumber. The Texas treason is blasted for the hour, and the first session of the most perverse and worthless Congress that ever disgraced this Confederacy has closed. This last day, from ten in the morning till noon, was a continuation of tumult from the adjournment of yesterday morning. The joint resolution of the two Houses had fixed the adjournment, by their respective presiding officers, at twelve o'clock meridian this day. There were numerous bills, public and private, still pending before them both, and the eighty-seventh joint rule forbids the sending of any bill to the President for his approbation on the last day of the session. This rule was rescinded, and bills were sent to him, and signed by him, at least until the moment of adjournment.

A printed notice, signed by three lawyers, counsel for the three city banks, was laid on the tables of the members, stating that if Congress should not act on the bill for extending the charters on their expiration, 4th July next, they would be without power to recover any debts due to them. Campbell, Chairman of the Committee on the District of Columbia, succeeded, after a hard struggle, in introducing a bill which he called a compromise, giving the banks power after the expiration of their charters to prosecute and recover debts due to them, and making them accountable for their own; which bill was carried through and signed by the President. The inflexi-

bility of the House against rechartering the banks is said to have been wrought by the two brothers Carroll—one a Whig member from the Twenty-Ninth District of New York, and the other Clerk of the United States Supreme Court, and who is said to have a debt of his own of twenty thousand dollars to one of the city banks.

The Senate passed a resolution to postpone the adjournment till two o'clock, and while it was under discussion in the House the yeas and nays were called; in the midst of which call, the minute-hand of the clock pointing precisely at twelve, the Speaker stopped the call, declared the House adjourned without day, and left the chair. No messages between the Houses, no farewell to the President, and the members dispersed to their respective places of abode.

Gilbert Livingston Thompson, the messenger sent to Mexico to snuff the scent of the Texan annexation treaty there, returned this day, and reports that Santa Anna is ready and willing to treat for the cession of Texas to the United States.

18th. In the midst of the hurly-burly of a closing session of Congress, a scene always sufficient to discompose the serenity of a steadier mind than mine, I have been distracted with multiplied applications for autographs and lines in albums, which would be ungracious and would be thought churlish to refuse, and yet with which it is insupportable to comply. For many years I have occasionally written knacks, trifles, nosegays, in the scrap-books of my younger relatives, for which I have but a wretched talent, and ingenuity could seldom save me from compliance. I once attempted to make a collection of these "nugæ albæ," but I sickened at the sight of most of them, and I gave it up. A quarto volume, price ten dollars, was published a few weeks since, called the United States Album, with copper-plate engravings of the arms of all the States in the Union, and fac-simile signatures of the President, of all the members of both Houses of Congress, and of all the Judges of the Supreme Court, and, then, blank leaves to be written upon. A. H. Stephens, of Georgia, Joshua R. Giddings, of Ohio, and Hamilton Fish have each a copy of this book, and asked me to write my name and a few lines in them; and there I was,

straining from hard-bound brains senseless rhymes, like "the slipshod Sibyl in lofty madness meditating song."

It sometimes happens at sea that in the midst of a hurricane the wind falls instantly into a flat calm, the sea still running mountain-high. Ships in that condition are in extreme danger of rolling their masts overboard, and experienced mariners have told me they dreaded such a condition more than the heaviest gale of wind. Such is my present. My attention to public affairs is absorbed in the preparations for settling my debts here and in looking up the documents of the second and third sessions of the Twenty-Seventh Congress, one set of each of which I am to pack up in a chest and send round by water to Boston. The documents are now divided into three sets of —1, Executive documents of the House; 2, Reports of committees of the House; 3, Senate documents, including Executive and reports; then one volume of journals of each House, and a folio volume or two of printed bills and amendments. I doubt if another member of Congress besides myself possesses an entire set of all these papers. Of the bills, no one condescends to keep a set. After the close of each session, every member of each House is entitled to receive, bound, one set of what are called session documents, and one copy of the journal of each House, but not of the bills. During the session each member has a copy of every printed document, and of every sheet of the journals of both Houses, laid on his table, fresh printed; these, like Sibyl leaves, are scattered and destroyed from day to day. My practice is to have them kept in files for me, including the printed bills, and, after the close of the session, to have them bound at my own expense. I have thus one set of the documents here, and one at my home in Quincy. But many of the voluminous documents are not printed till long after the close of the session to which they belong. I found my sets of documents of both the second and third sessions of the Twenty-Seventh Congress incomplete, and called at the Intelligencer and Globe offices, and at the Clerk's office H. R. U. S., to rectify mistakes. French, the sub-Clerk, was gone to dinner, and I did not wholly discover where the error was, but am on its track.

I found, by conversation with Gales, that Gilbert L. Thompson's reports from Mexico were shameless lies, and that instead of Santa Anna's readiness to negotiate for the session of Texas, he took immediate measures for the most determined resistance. Treachery of the deepest infamy marks every step of this Jackson project for the dismemberment of Mexico and the perpetuation of slavery, from its inception to this day. It is yet portentous beyond conception.

20th. Mrs. Morris is the daughter of Mr. John C. Spencer, whose relations with the vicarious Administration of John Tyler as President of the United States have been very remarkable. When, in the summer of 1843, the rupture occurred between Mr. Tyler and the Whig Cabinet of President Harrison, John C. Spencer was president or chairman of a Whig association in the State of New York, and called an indignation meeting of Whigs against Tyler, at Syracuse. Before that meeting was held, on the 12th of October, 1841, Mr. Spencer was appointed by Mr. Tyler Secretary of War, which office he accepted, and held till March 7th, 1843, when he was appointed Secretary of the Treasury. During the recent session of Congress he was nominated a Judge of the Supreme Court, and on the 31st of January last was rejected by the Senate. Since then he resigned his office as Secretary of the Treasury, for which no reason has been made public, and, on the last day of the session of the Senate, was again nominated Judge of the Supreme Court, and again rejected. Mrs. Morris's husband was a clerk in the Treasury Department while her father was the Secretary, and retires with him. I have little acquaintance with this lady, but she has been very courteous to my wife and family, and earnestly solicits that I would write some verses addressed to her. I did write a couple of stanzas, which puzzled me in the composition not a little, for I began with a line of seven syllables, and, in following out the verse, fell unconsciously into the blunder of mingling seven- and eight-syllable lines together. I discovered it only by the want of harmony in the lines upon reading them over. I (never) knew before the peculiar property of the seven-syllable line, which consists in the uniform location of the accent and emphasis on the first syllable of each

line. The inadvertent admission of a word accented on the second syllable changes the measure to the eight-syllable verse, and the mixture of the two measures produces dissonance. It took me an hour to Procrustesize my lines to Mrs. Morris. She was here this day, with Miss Paine, when I was out. Miss Paine left word that I must not write any more verses for ladies.

21st. The settlement of my accounts, the payment of accumulated bills, the endorsement and filing of letters, and the assortment of documents of the second and third sessions of the Twenty-Seventh Congress, still absorb my time, and delay the recovery of my arrears of diary, run up during the last days of the session of Congress.

The National Intelligencer of this day has my letter of 18th of May last to Mrs. Sarah H. Butler, President of the Ladies of the Wyoming Monumental Association at Wilkesbarre, Pennsylvania; and I found it also both in the Boston Courier and Daily Advertiser, which came this day.

I called again at the office of the National Intelligencer, and obtained a copy of the paper of 7th June, containing the fifth list of petitions presented by me to the House of Representatives at the first session of the Twenty-Eighth Congress, with the disposal of them by the House. The preceding lists are in the papers of 28th December, 1843, 10th and 29th February, and 5th April, 1844. This last of 7th June contains also the memorial of Edward Jarvis, William Brigham, and J. Wingate Thornton, the Committee of the American Statistical Association, demonstrating a multitude of gross and important errors in the printed census of 1840. On the 19th of February last I had stated to the then Secretary of State, Upshur, that there were numerous errors in the printed census, and proved to him, by inspection of the census itself, the error of the return of one hundred and thirty-three insane colored persons in the town of Worcester, Massachusetts. On the 26th of that month the House, at my motion, adopted a call upon the Secretary of State for a report whether any such material errors existed, and, if so, what had been done to correct them. The journal of the House of 4th May (p. 877) states that the Speaker laid before the House a letter from the Secretary of State (John C. Calhoun),

in answer to the resolution of 26th February, "stating that no such errors had been discovered." On the 6th of May I moved to amend the journal of the 5th, by striking out the words "and stating that no such errors had been discovered." My motion was lost, by yeas and nays—thirty-two to one hundred and twenty-six. On the preceding 18th of April, the same Secretary of State, John C. Calhoun, in an official letter to the British Minister, Pakenham, had drawn out an elaborate argument from these same falsified returns of the census, as if they were uncontroverted truths, to justify the annexation treaty with Texas. On the 16th of May I moved a suspension of the rules to enable me to present this memorial to the House, and the yeas and nays on my motion were ninety-three to forty-seven. The Speaker's vote would have carried the two-thirds required to suspend the rules. He declared it lost for lack of two-thirds. I asked if he had voted; he said he had not, and if he had it would have been in the negative. The next day I entered the memorial under the rule, and it was referred to the Committee on Statistics, whose Chairman, Zadok Pratt, promised me that they would report upon it; but they did not.

24th. I received last Friday a letter from George R. Davis, of Troy, New York, asking my opinion if there was anything in the course of George L. Seymour on the question of reconsideration of the Eastern Harbor bill, after the veto, that evinced any want of good faith, or calculated to defeat a constitutional two-thirds vote to pass the bill. Mr. Seymour has been charged with this in a Troy newspaper; and Mr. Davis, his neighbor, and friends, want testimony to refute the slander. Mr. Davis was lodging at Mr. Gurley's, on Pennsylvania Avenue, and wrote me that he proposed to leave the city for home this day. I called last evening at Mr. Gurley's to see him, but he was out. He came here this morning, and I told him that before answering his letter I wished to see the article in the Troy newspaper containing the charge against Mr. Seymour; but he had it not, and could state only the general purport of it. I told him that I could readily and cheerfully certify that I never for an instant entertained a suspicion of insincerity on the part of Mr. Sey-

mour, when the Speaker, by what I thought a shameful collusion, cut off all reconsideration of the Eastern Harbor bill, by deciding that the main question upon the previous question moved by Mr. Seymour applied to the passage of the bill—when, not five minutes before, Seymour had moved the previous question, only upon an assurance from Linn Boyd, then in the Speaker's chair, that the main question would be on Seymour's motion to postpone the reconsideration of the bill from Tuesday to Thursday. This was a knave's trick. I remonstrated against it in vain. If Mr. Seymour had resented it vehemently, I believe he would have shamed the Speaker out of it, and the bill might have passed by a two-thirds vote. Mr. David L. Seymour was embarrassed by his reluctance to break with his Southern Democratic allies, and submitted to the iniquitous decision of the Speaker, which smothered all reconsideration of the bill.

Mr. Davis, in substance, admitted all this, and will be satisfied with my testimony to my belief in the sincerity of Mr. Seymour.

25th. I called this morning at the Department of State, and had a long conversation with the Secretary, John C. Calhoun. I repeated the enquiry concerning the documents required by the Government of Massachusetts from that of the province of New Brunswick. He said the pressure of other business in the Department had delayed the renewed demand upon the British Minister for these papers, which, he said, he proposed to make next week.

I then enquired about a memorial of James Crosby, and ninety others, addressed to him, and a printed copy of which has been sent to me. It complains of enactments of duties by the Legislature of the province, in contravention to an article of the Ashburton Treaty.

He said there was no doubt it was a plain violation of the treaty, and on this also he should address Mr. Pakenham.

My last enquiry was, whether the call of the House of Representatives adopted at my motion on Friday, the 14th of this month, for the instructions to George W. Erving in 1814, and afterwards during his mission to Spain, had been answered.

Mr. Markoe told me that the resolution of the House had not been received. Another of the clerks said it was not received until two hours after the final adjournment of the House, so that it cannot be answered till the next session of Congress. But Mr. Calhoun immediately offered to send to my house for my inspection the two folio manuscript volumes of instructions to the Ministers of the United States in Europe; which I accepted. And in the letter of instruction from James Monroe, Secretary of State, of 30th May, 1816, I find the following passage: "On the cession by the Spanish Government of all claims to territory eastward of the Mississippi, he (President Madison) is willing, should it be indispensably necessary, to establish the Sabine, from its mouth to its source, as the boundary, in that extent, between the United States and the Spanish provinces; leaving the residue of their boundaries to be settled by Commissioners, to be hereafter appointed by both Governments." Other parts of that instruction are not less important, and have never before been published.

27th. This day, set in the extreme heat of the summer, the trial of the climate to my constitution. A burning sun; the thermometers in my chamber at ninety, and a light breeze from the southwest—a fan delicious to the face, but parching instead of cooling the skin. I have been a full month longing for a river bath without daring to take it. This morning, at five, I went in the barouche to my old favorite spot, found the tide unusually high; all my station rocks occupied by young men, except one, and that surrounded by the tide, already upon the ebb. I had some difficulty to undress and dress, but got my bath, swam about five minutes, and came out washed and refreshed. It was my exercise for the day. After returning home I did not again pass the sill of the street door.

29th. The summer heat and its enervating spell continue. I walked this morning to my old bathing station upon the strand of the Potomac River, and bathed and swam for about ten minutes, and then walked home. From the practice of personal ablution and the exercise of swimming I cannot totally abstain, for I believe they have promoted my health and prolonged my life many years. And yet the experience

of late years has compelled me gradually to disuse them. But my great anxiety now is having much to do, and to be doing nothing. I called at the Globe office, and saw Mr. Kane, the bookbinder of that establishment. He has my file of documents for the third session of the Twenty-Seventh Congress; they are not complete, and I requested him, before binding them, to send to Mr. French, the sub-Clerk of the House, to have the missing papers supplied.

Then at the office of the National Intelligencer, and saw Mr. Gales. I took a paper of the 27th, containing my card to take leave of all invitations to public meetings. It contains also a remarkable speech of W. S. Archer, in the Senate, against the advice and consent to ratify the treaty for the annexation of Texas to the United States.

At the office of the Clerk of the House. French was not there. I requested of the clerk who was there a copy of the memorial of A. De Kalb Tarr and one hundred and seventy-nine citizens of Pennsylvania, praying for an alteration of the naturalization laws so as to require twenty-one years of residence by foreigners before admitting them to all the privileges of native Americans. This was the first memorial presented to the House on the subject. I moved its reference to the Judiciary Committee, but it was laid on the table, by yeas and nays. Fifteen days after, it was at my motion taken up from the table and referred to the Committee on the Judiciary. The clerk promised me a copy for Monday next, with the names of the signers. I shall see whether the editors of the National Intelligencer will publish it.

I declared in the House that I should not hold myself bound to support the demand in the House; but at the next session the Native American party will be heard in both Houses, and the proceedings of the House on this first memorial will have a material influence upon the debate.

July 1st. Mr. Pakenham, the British Minister, called on me this morning, and I had a long and very free conversation with him; not upon his negotiations here, of which no mention was made either by him or me. He seemed anxious to know whether a special session of Congress would be called, as has

been much rumored, but recently, as if by authority, denied. Immediately after the rejection by the Senate of the annexation treaty, Henderson, who had come post-haste as Minister Plenipotentiary to sign it, started post-haste back, it was said, to prevent the abandonment of the project by the Texans, and to negotiate a popular movement there, still to cram down the annexation.

I told Mr. Pakenham that I had seen with great pleasure in the Parliamentary papers of 1839 and '40, lent me by Mr. Fox, the avowal by Lord Palmerston, in a dispatch to Lord Howard de Walden, that to promote the abolition of slavery throughout the world was a fixed and settled system of the British Government. I had seen in the newspapers the negotiations with all Europe and all America, especially with the Pope and the Bey of Tunis, all tending to the same result. I told him of the visit of Andrews, the Texan, and Lewis Tappan, to me before they went to England last summer; that Mr. Andrews had communicated his designs to me, and I had expressed to him my doubts of his success. I had expressed the same doubt to Mr. Tappan, and told him I thought the British Government would, in this case, sacrifice their principles to their policy. Mr. Lewis Tappan, without authority from me, had apprised Lord Aberdeen of this opinion of mine, and Lord Aberdeen had protested against it; but it had proved correct. The abolition of slavery in Texas, without war or bloodshed, had been completely within the power of Great Britain, but her Government had failed to carry out their own principles. They disclaim and concede too much. They parry, carte and tierce, to avoid the issue tendered them, and which they must meet. This was not the general character of English diplomacy. It was usually bold, open, explicit, stubborn. I could not perceive it in Lord Aberdeen's disavowals, nor in Mr. Charles Elliot's recent letter to President Houston.

Mr. Pakenham took no offence at what I said, and spoke with much caution and reserve in return. He seems afraid of the English principles themselves, and fearful that the use of them would be to put edged tools in the hands of children.

4th. I had received from the committee of arrangements of

the Philodemic Society of Georgetown College an invitation to attend at one o'clock P.M. this day at the delivery of an oration by one of its members, and at an entertainment given by the Faculty of the College and the Society. One of my reasons for remaining in this city after the close of the session of Congress till this day shall be past, was to escape from all the celebrations to which I was or might be invited, the noise and bustle and excitement and ranting of this day having become irksome to me. I intended, nevertheless, to attend this oration and entertainment at the Georgetown College; but my driver took a holiday for himself and disappointed me. I was, however, well pleased with my disappointment; passed the day very quietly at home till close upon sunset, when I strolled out for an hour, and, on returning, stopped at Mrs. Madison's and took leave of her for the summer. Morning and evening visitors as by the margin, chiefly military officers who had been in grand costume to pay their devoirs to the President. The wedding visit last Saturday and that of Independence Day came so close together that the attendance this day was thin. Captain Tyler and his bride are the laughing-stock of the city. It seems as if he was racing for a prize-banner to the nuptials of the mock-heroic—the sublime and the ridiculous. He has assumed the war power as a prerogative, the veto power as a caprice, the appointing and dismissing power as a fund for bribery; and now, under circumstances of revolting indecency, is performing with a young girl from New York the old fable of January and May.

I wrote this day a letter to W. D. Barnes and A. De Kalb Tarr, in answer to that which they addressed to me with the memorial calling for alteration of the naturalization laws. It took all the leisure of the day, and when written was too long. The Native Americans are falling into the blunders of the abolition societies. They have an excellent cause, which they will ruin by mismanagement. The Native Americans, like the Anti-Masons, will have a momentary and limited success, but the staff will break in their hands and lay them in the dust.

6th. At the office of the National Intelligencer I took six copies of the paper of this day, containing my closing list of

petitions presented by me at the recent session of Congress to the House of Representatives, with the note upon the memorial of A. De Kalb Tarr and one hundred and seventy-nine citizens of Pennsylvania, praying for alteration of the naturalization laws. I enclosed one of these papers in my letter to W. D. Barnes and A. De Kalb Tarr, and one to my son, for the long letter of Waddy Thompson, Jr., against the annexation of Texas and the annexation treaty.

I met Mr. Thompson at the Intelligencer office, and had a long conversation with him and Mr. Gales on the subject. Thompson is a South Carolina planter, owner of one hundred slaves, and religiously believes that slavery was made for the African race, and the African race for slavery. He opposes the annexation of Texas on Southern grounds as a Southern man. So did Calhoun, so did McDuffie, so did Hamilton—all now rabid annexationists. Thompson will be converted like them. He knocks down Walker, Wilkins, and C. J. Ingersoll with their own maul; but he smuggled through Congress the acknowledgment of Texas prematurely. He is as cunning as four Yankees, as sly as four Quakers, and just now admires the people of Massachusetts too much. I hope his letter will be eminently useful at the present crisis, and devoutly pray that he and Benton and the "Princeton" gun may be instruments for the deliverance of my country.

10th. We had concluded to take the afternoon train of cars, and to proceed no further upon our journey this day than Baltimore. In two short hours we were at Baltimore, and came in a hack to Barnum's. He himself died some months since, but his establishment survives, in charge of his son. The heat kept us from strolling. I met Dr. Semmes in the reading-room. I received a note from A. A. Phelps, of Boston, and afterwards a visit, with Mr. Gallagher, a lawyer of this place, to consult me what to do for the Rev. Charles T. Torrey, in jail here upon a charge of enticing slaves to run away, and under a demand to be delivered up from the Governor of Virginia for a like *crime* there. Bail might be taken for the Maryland offence, but not while the Virginia bolt impends.

I advised to take out a writ of habeas corpus, returnable to

the Circuit Court of the United States, to bring the whole case before Chief-Justice Taney, and, in the event of an adverse decision by him, appeal to the Supreme Court of the United States. They said so they would do. The case is unique. I told them that upon this matter of slavery the law of the free and the slave States is in direct conflict, and referred them to the cases of the Antelope and of the Amistad captives.

BALTIMORE, 11th.—I enter this day on the seventy-eighth year of my age, and but for a blessed dispensation of Almighty God it would have been the last day both of my own life and that of my dear and ever-beloved wife. We both escaped as if by a miracle, and neither of us unhurt. I rose this morning at Barnum's, in Baltimore, before the sun, and, after journalizing the day for yesterday, sent for Mr. A. A. Phelps, and had a long conversation with him concerning Charles T. Torrey, in prison here upon a charge of enticing away slaves from a citizen of Maryland, and demanded by the Governor of Virginia to be delivered up on a charge of the same crime. I enquired what was the punishment for that crime in the two States. Mr. Phelps said, imprisonment at the discretion of the Court, not exceeding twenty years. I asked the opinions of Mr. Gallagher on slavery. I enquired if other and more (counsel were) employed to argue the whole case before the Chief Justice as the Circuit Judge, and then before the Supreme Court of the United States.

He said that Reverdy Johnson and McMahon had been mentioned. I thought that sound opinions on the subject of slavery, and an undaunted spirit to assert and maintain them, were indispensable qualifications for any person selected for that argument; and I recommended that the counsel might be specially requested to study, and refer freely to, the case of the negro Somerset, in Howell's State Trials, to the case of the Antelope in Wheaton and to my review of it in the argument for the Amistad captives, to Mr. Baldwin's argument in that same case, and to Lord Stowell's decision in the case of the slave Grace. And I said that, having a great personal regard for Mr. Torrey, I should be happy if I could furnish his counsel with any information which might be useful for his defence.

We left Baltimore at nine A.M. in the train of cars for Philadelphia—which city we reached about four in the afternoon and found yet in an amphibious state between mob and martial law. We concluded to proceed immediately to New York. At five in the afternoon we left Walnut Street wharf in the steamer New Philadelphia, and came to Bristol, twenty miles; there landed, and proceeded in the train of cars through Trenton, New Brunswick, Elizabethtown, and Newark, to Jersey City. The sunset between Trenton (and New Brunswick) was glorious, and equal to anything I ever beheld. As I witnessed the departing luminary, and the peace and quiet and felicity of all around me, I thought of Washington and Trenton and the 25th of December, 1776, and a feeling of inexpressible joy filled my soul.

Between ten and eleven we alighted from the cars, on an unrailed floor, raised about four feet above the ground. Walking on this floor, dark as midnight, I stepped, unawares, off the floor, and pitched over, and drew my wife, whose arm was linked in mine, over after me. Blessed be God, neither neck nor limbs of either of us was broken. We were enabled, after an hour of delay, to cross the ferry to New York, and reached the Astor House before midnight.

NEW YORK, 12th.—The sensation which I suffered last night by the shock of my own fall, instantly succeeded by that of my wife, was such as I never in my life experienced before, and which I have no words to describe. While falling, I had the distinct idea that I was killed. A shriek from my wife, and the consciousness that she too was killed, had in it a thrill of horror of which I knew not that the human frame was susceptible. My fall was so disposed that my left hip first met the earth, tipped me over upon the right side, and laid me sprawling; but neither my head nor my body struck the earth. I instantly rose, feeling pain only on the hip, and that not severe; but the terror for my wife no pang of death could surpass. She had fallen forwards. Her clothing had protected her from any shock to the body, but her left wrist was sprained; and the recoil from the ground struck her breast, broke the glass of the breast-pin, and slightly bruised a spot on the upper side of her

chin, below the lip. She had fainted, and was senseless. Several men came to our assistance. They took her up and carried her into one of the house sheds of the railroad company, where were benches to sit upon. A physician was sent for; but, as she soon came to, and appeared not to be much hurt, that order was countermanded. The other passengers had crossed the river in the steam ferry-boat, and that boat, in about half an hour, returned. My wife had then so far recovered that she was able to be led to the boat. We crossed the river, and a hack took us to the Astor House. They gave us two bedrooms on the first floor, and before midnight we were lodged for the night, still unknowing how much we were injured, but grateful that our lives and limbs had been spared. After a restless and agitated night, my wife felt the pain of the blow on the breast more than last night. The skin was not broken on my hip, but the bone was painful and sore, and a spot on my hip and thigh, as large as a common dinner-table plate, is crimson with extravasated blood. It was bathed with vinegar; but, as it did not pain me much, I walked out, called upon Mr. Lewis Tappan, and had some conversation with him respecting the case of Mr. Torrey.

QUINCY, 18th.—I finished reading the life of Francis Bacon, Baron Verulam, and Viscount St. Albans, by David Mallet, prefixed to the edition of his works in five volumes quarto, and I began the perusal of his works. This man was a prodigy and a paradox. He should be studied as a chronometer or a steam-engine should be studied—as a piece of moral and intellectual mechanism. Why did I not so study him fifty years ago? And of what use will it be for me to study him now? Indulgence of curiosity, a longing thirst for knowledge, a refuge from the sickening realities of life and desponding anticipations of the future, may perhaps carry me through this undertaking. The general reflection upon the life of Bacon is the melancholy aspect of great vicissitudes of fortune. His transcendent talents, rapacious ambition, and disgusting sycophancy combined to raise him to the pinnacle of opulence, of honors, and of power. The causes of his downfall were his connivance with briberies practised by his servants, and with whom he shared the plunder.

But James the First himself, and his minion Buckingham, were deeply implicated in the charges upon which he was convicted, and it was more of their sins than of his own that he bore the penalty. James remitted successively all the parts of the sentence against him, and, though he had been declared incapable of holding any office of trust whatever, he was yet summoned to the first Parliament of Charles the First in 1625. It does not appear that he attended. He died at the Earl of Arundel's house, in Highgate, on the 9th of April, 1626, at the age of sixty-four. He was married after the age of forty, but never had a child; and his wife survived him twenty years. After the remission of his fine, he was several (years) pinched with penury; and his supplicatory letter to the King for relief is agonizing.

19th. The confinement to the house is tedious; I endeavor to cheer it by reading, and travelled this day through the two books of Francis Bacon of the Proficience and Advancement of Learning, Human and Divine. The work is dedicated to King James the First, and its introduction inspires a mingled sentiment of admiration of the boldness and grandeur of the design which it announces, and of heart-ache at the depth of degradation to which it sinks in the servile adulation with which it besmears the king. It is presented as in the nature and analogy of a free-will offering from a worshipper to his Deity, alluding first to the daily sacrifices and the occasional oblations of the Levitical Law, to which he likens the faithful performance of the duties of his official employments, and then proposing a voluntary superaddition of tribute appropriate to the transcendent learning of the King—the wisest, the greatest, the most perfect monarch that ever sat upon a throne. And this was James the First! And this unparalleled royal learning should not only prove the glory of the then present age, but should be transmitted down to after-ages as an imperishable monument for the benefit and admiration of mankind. And this work was not the consummation of that mighty purpose itself, but a mere outline of a plan to turn the royal cogitations to its achievement. The stupendous magnitude of this undertaking, the courtly cunning, ingenuity, and meanness of suggesting it to the King as if it was an enterprise of his own, the lofty

consciousness of its sublimity, and the sly implied disclaimer of it as anything more on the part of the author than a mere speculative whim, to be moulded into form and substance, are all deserving of profound meditation—of more than I can give. He proceeds then to enumerate and to refute the objections against learning—of divines, of politicians, as arising from the fortunes, manners, or studies of learned men. He discusses the diseases of learning—the peccant humors which have not only given impediment to the proficiency of learning, but have given occasion to the traducement thereof. And he closes the book with a copious and cheering exhibition of the dignity of learning—a theme upon which I follow him with delight. The style is a continuous and perpetual citation of classical and scriptural quotations.

20th. I made some progress in reading Bacon on the Advancement of Learning—finished the first and began the second book. In the dedication to King James, gross as his adulation is, it is not random praise. He extols him for four specific virtues: a virtuous *disposition*, a virtuous *ambition*, a virtuous observation of the laws of *marriage*, and a virtuous and most Christian *desire of peace*. These were real virtues of James's character, and they are genuine king-becoming graces; and it is piteous to reflect that, with all these virtues, and with all that learning, for which he was not less famed, his character as a king and as a man is universally despised. He was weak.

"Fallen cherub, to be weak is miserable, doing or suffering."

For the fulsomeness of the flattery I was seeking some excuse, and it occurred to me that in monarchical governments this beplastering of the mighty man is conventional and formal, like "your humble servant" at the close of a letter, or the greetings of acquaintances and mere strangers, professing to be very obsequious to each other, meaning, of course, nothing of what is said. In the argument for the advancement of science, I thought the objections with which he began against it were so frivolous and trivial that they scarcely deserved the trouble of answering them. There is, however, something more forcible in the catalogue of the diseases of learning.

Hume speaks contemptuously of the style of Bacon. Its most remarkable character, to my mind, is the copious and original turn of his thoughts, with their incessant quotations from the Bible and from the Greek and Latin classics. I was not entirely satisfied with the life of Bacon by Mallet, and took up that of the Biographia Britannica, which is somewhat longer. But the mode of writing, with a load of commentary always interrupting the narrative, is intolerably tedious, and incompatible with that *unity* which should be the first law of written composition.

September 16th. By way of variety, I took up the public documents respecting the negotiation of the Florida Treaty, and especially the correspondence of George W. Erving in 1817 and '18. The supplementary documents, called for by the resolutions of H. R. U. S., moved by Dixon H. Lewis, are the most perfect extinguishers of Andrew Jackson's lies and Erving's own base misrepresentations that could be produced. Jackson's lies are gross and glaring; Erving's misrepresentations are artful and cunning. Jackson's type is Richard the Third; Erving is an honest Iago. There is no baser conspiracy recorded in history than theirs against me, which it is my duty to expose to the world.

18th. I went first into Boston this morning, with Mr. Lunt, and alighted at Mr. Robert C. Winthrop's house. I sent Benjamin with the barouche to land Mr. Lunt at Judge Warren's house in Beacon Street, to take him up there again at one o'clock and then call for me at my son's office. I told Mr. Winthrop that I had called on him to speak of George W. Erving and Andrew Jackson and Charles J. Ingersoll's concerted attack upon me during the last session of Congress, and particularly upon Erving's written communications to Jackson against me. Winthrop had spoken to me about it during the session. He then read to me part of a letter which Erving had written to him on the subject. And he now read me part of another, received by the last steamer, and written after Erving had received Charles J. Ingersoll's counterfeit report, published as the report of the Committee of Foreign Affairs, dated 1st May, 1844. Erving's letter now is apologetic towards me, but tenfold bitter and rancorous to the memory of Mr. Monroe,

and mean and sneaking in his excuses for his wanton attack upon me.

I asked Winthrop if Charles J. Ingersoll's view contains Erving's paper, or a garbled and summary statement of it made up by Ingersoll himself. Winthrop said he thought it was Erving's own paper; but I read from it several passages evidently showing that it was not. While we were in conversation, John C. Gray came in, and, having apparently business with Winthrop, I left them.

19th. At the ordination, or rather installation, yesterday of the Rev. George M. Rice as pastor of the First Congregational Church and Society in Chelsea, the ceremonies were as follows: 1. Anthem. 2. Introductory prayer, by Rev. John T. Sargent, of Boston. 3. Selection from the Scriptures, by Rev. John Pierpont, Junr., of Lynn. 4. Hymn. 5. Sermon, by the Rev. W. P. Lunt, of Quincy. 6. Hymn. 7. Prayer of installation, by Rev. Samuel Barrett, of Boston. 8. Charge, by Rev. Dr. James Flint, of Salem. 9. Right hand of fellowship, by Rev. Samuel D. Robbins, of Chelsea. 10. Address to the people, by Rev. Robert C. Waterston, of Boston. 11. Concluding prayer, by the Rev. Frederick T. Gray, of Boston. 12. Doxology. 13. Benediction, by the pastor, George M. Rice. Mr. Lunt's sermon was from Philippians iii. 9: "The righteousness which is of God by faith." All the services were appropriate and creditable. This form of ordaining a minister of the gospel to the charge of a single church is pre-eminently popular and republican, and contrasts most advantageously with the forms of Episcopal ordination. In these there are two things insupportable and blasphemous: 1. The pretension of the bishop to confer the Holy Ghost; and, 2. The power of pardoning or retaining sin, at his discretion. These are the most servile and obsequious vicious practices retained from the Church of Rome. Our churches are independent of each other; associated as brethren. Their pastors are all equal, elected by their people, without hierarchy of bishop, priest, and deacon; without the ridiculous pretension of receiving from the afflatus of the bishop either the Holy Ghost or the discretionary power to forgive or to retain sins. The introductory, ordination, and

concluding prayers, each by a separate brother pastor, the anthem, hymns, and doxology, the sermon, charge, right hand of fellowship, and address to the people, are all congenial parts of one ceremony—all solemnizing incidents of reciprocal duties contracted by the incipient relations between the pastor and his flock. These services were all well performed on this occasion.

This day was the great mass-meeting of the Whigs at Boston, at which I was invited to preside, but declined. Daniel Webster presided, and delivered a speech of an hour and a half.

23d. Dr. Dana, of Brandon, Vermont, came with a letter recommendatory from William Hayden, senior editor of the Boston Atlas. He was accompanied by his brother, a merchant of Boston. They are fervent Whigs, and the only object of their visit was to see and converse with me. While they were here, Mr. and Mrs. Birney came in. He is the son of James G. Birney, now of Michigan, and the candidate of the Liberty party for election as President of the United States. The son resides at New Haven, Connecticut. I met him last week at the office of the Morning Chronicle in Boston, and Mr. Leavitt introduced him to me. Why he visits me now I do not know. His father owes me a grudge, and, as the head of the Abolition Liberty party, made a violent and furious assault upon my character and reputation in a letter to his party. He had, perhaps, some provocation. When he was going to the first World's Convention at London, in 1840, he wrote to me requesting letters of introduction to my friends in England—a piece of sheer impertinence, for I had no personal acquaintance with him which could warrant me in recommending him to my friends, nor any reason to believe him a man of merit so transcendent that I could venture to recommend him though a stranger. But, as an answer of refusal would have required an assignment of reasons, which I knew would be more offensive to him even than neglect, I left his letter unanswered, and he now assails me in revenge. He has emancipated some slaves which he inherited from his father; has suffered persecution, obloquy, and loss for the cause of liberty, for which he is entitled to respect and gratitude: but he is the sport of envious, bitter, ambitious, and malignant passions, and his

head is turned by the greatness thrust upon him of a party candidate for the Presidency.

24th. This afternoon Mr. Cassius M. Clay came out from Boston, with Mrs. George T. Bigelow and Miss Porter, daughter of the late General Peter B. Porter, to visit us. Mr. C. M. Clay is a native of Kentucky, and within the last two years has acquired great celebrity by declaring the highest-toned sentiments against slavery. He has in numerous public speeches advocated the abolition of slavery in that State, has raised against himself hosts of deadly enemies, and has been more than once hunted for assassination. He has emancipated a number of his own slaves. Last winter he attended a meeting called by Colonel Johnson to pass resolutions for the annexation of Texas to the United States, and he prevented the passage of the resolutions. He is now travelling about the Northern States, discoursing wherever he goes against slavery, the slave-trade, and the annexation of Texas. His wife is with him, said to be a very fine woman, but has been taken ill in Boston, and could not come out with him this afternoon. He has made several speeches at Boston, and is said to be transcendently eloquent. He told me that his speech to the Boston Young Men's Whig Club was reported in the Atlas of this morning, and requested me to read it, and write to him at New York my opinion of it. He also said that he had derived his principles in part from me.

26th. After all the trouble and pains I have taken to draw up an address to my constituents, I find that it wants unity of subject, point for impression, and humor to hit the fancy and secure the sympathy of the auditory, and pleasantry to amuse them. All these are essential to popular eloquence. There is nothing so fatal to the success of stump-speaking as dulness. "Tous les genres sont bons, hormis le genre ennuyeux." I have analyzed the correspondence furnished in answer to the call moved by Dixon H. Lewis in the House of Representatives on the 29th of April last, and every page of it furnishes pregnant evidence to refute the lies of Andrew Jackson, Aaron Vail[1] Brown, George W. Erving, and Charles Jared

[1] This middle name is used here several times by Mr. Adams, as it was in his public allusions to Mr. Brown. He afterwards learned that it was *Venable*.

Ingersoll, every one of whom lies without remorse, but with variety of falsehood which makes each of them an effective witness against all the others. But it will require extreme caution to compare and collate with one another all the documents heretofore published—the new ones recently produced, and the false statements of each of the four false witnesses. And I never can be too much on my guard to avoid contesting any well-attested statement, and to make none on my part susceptible of being disproved.

27th. The Boston Morning Post of 25th March last, which my son brought out for me last evening, enabled me to find this morning the Globe of 21st March, 1844, upon the files which I had brought from Washington, and which I had not hitherto been able to find. It is better for my purpose than the Boston Post, because it contains the original publication by Aaron Vail Brown of Jackson's letter, and, further, the letter from Brown to the editors of the Globe, Blair and Rives, enclosing Jackson's letter for publication.

I have determined to make this the immediate and single subject of my address to the Young Men's Whig Club at Boston next Monday week: first, for the vindication of my own character from the vile slanders of Jackson, Erving, Brown, and Charles J. Ingersoll; and, secondly, to expose to the world and to after-times the infamous means used to accomplish this annexation of Texas to the United States. How far this selection of my subject will be satisfactory to those whom I am to address, how far to the free people of this Union, how far I shall be able to enliven it with interest, is a problem from which I would shrink if I could. I have fearful odds to encounter, and little to encourage me.

> "Truths would you teach, and save a sinking land,
> All fear, none aid you, and few understand."

My polar star must be my guide. The Florida Treaty was the most important incident in my life, and the most successful negotiation ever consummated by the Government of this Union. And this is precisely selected, above all others, as an engine for the total destruction of my good name, and to charge

me with treachery to my country and to my trust. I have long hesitated, not whether I should notice this conspiracy against me, but how and when. I have taken time to look over the documents, and can wind the whole body of conspirators round my fingers. My only danger is of losing my vantage-ground.

October 1st. Howe, Appleton, of Weymouth; Kingman, John, of North Bridgewater; Cary, Otis, of Foxborough; Hunt, A. N., of Weymouth; Cushman, J. H., of Roxbury; Shorey, John, of Dedham; Gulliver, John P., of Roxbury; Gulliver, John, of Roxbury; Fisher, M. M., of Medway. The names in the margin are the members of the committee of the Liberty party of the Eighth Congressional District of Massachusetts, who visited me this morning. They have appointed this day week for a Convention to nominate a candidate for election to the House of Representatives of the United States in the Twenty-Ninth Congress. They have heretofore not nominated a candidate against me; but they will at this time, and it is highly probable will defeat the election. They were, however, to me this day peculiarly courteous and civil. Mr. Fisher said they had no disposition to dictate opinions to me, nor to ask any pledge of me which it might be disagreeable to me to give, but they had come to the conclusion that they were under obligations of duty to vote exclusively for persons who entertained certain opinions on the subject of slavery, and, as they were fully aware of the great and frequent services that they were indebted to me for in support of the cause which they had so much at heart, they wished for this friendly interview to ascertain my opinions on certain points upon which there was considerable diversity among those generally opposed to slavery.

I told them that I would cheerfully give to them my opinions as they were sincerely entertained, upon any and every point interesting to them; that I had no motive to conceal or disguise any of my opinions upon subjects of public concernment; that I had lived seventy-seven years, and served in various offices, and never asked or solicited, directly or indirectly, the vote of any man, and thought it not worth while to commence the practice now. I answered all their questions, discussed

with them the points upon which we did not concur; the vote for President, upon which I should not be partisan of any man. We considered the abolition of slavery in the District of Columbia and the Territories, and the prohibition of the inter-State slave-trade. They declared themselves perfectly satisfied with the interview. One of them said he should vote for me with pleasure; another said he did not know but what he should. The rest were silent. I asked them for their names —which one of them brought me on cards from French's Tavern, where they dined. Mr. Fisher said they expected at this election to cast from fourteen to sixteen thousand votes.

2d. My visitors yesterday from the committee of the Liberty party were apparently not of one mind when they came, nor yet when they left me. My opposition to the immediate abolition of slavery in the District of Columbia and in the Territories they all disapprove; and Mr. Howe, the late Senator from Norfolk County in the State Legislature, pressed me specially with the question whether Congress have not the power to repeal the laws of the District which allow and sanction slavery. With regard to the inter-State slave-trade, I told them I had no doubt of the power of Congress to prohibit that, and would vote for a bill to that effect to-morrow, though it would not be possible to prevail upon the House to receive such a bill. I told them I regretted that I could not concur with them in all their opinions, and still more the dissensions prevailing among themselves—the Colonization Society, the Anti-Slavery and Abolition Societies, the no-government, non-resisting, and women-membered societies. I grieved also at their classing in the same level of exclusion the Whig and Democratic parties. I thought there was a great difference between them, and that placing them on the same level was to secure the triumph of the worst party. This tendency of all private associations to settle into factious cabals is the besetting sin of all elective governments.

I received this morning from Mr. N. Frye, at Washington, the daily Globe of 20th March, 1844, containing the letters of Aaron Vail Brown and Andrew Jackson upon the annexation of Texas to the United States. I employed so industriously

this day that, besides the daily record, I wrote four pages of my task, only to prove what, with diligence, I can do in one day. The danger now is that I shall do too much—slide into dulness, wander into impertinence, fret into ribaldry, and worry into tediousness. The conspiracy against my good name is so complicated, so combined, so crafty, and so base, that I can scarcely keep my self-command to meet it.

3d. In the evening, Charles came down, without his wife, and I read to the family what I have already written for the address of next Monday. It occupied an hour and a half, and I suppressed the reading of several documents which I must not pass over next Monday. I must bespeak the patience of my hearers a full hour longer, and then abridge and leave out. But, what is worse, my language is too violent, and must be smoothed down—I know not how, nor to what extent; further, I have now only four days more to finish, and must leave space for a final recapitulation. I read myself this evening quite hoarse, and took warning to pitch my voice quite low when I begin. All my correspondence lags behind, and I leave unanswered numerous invitations and complimentary letters. Walter Hellen[1] has completed for me a large collection of extracts from my diary of 1818 and 1819, which I much wanted at Washington last winter, and of which I want that more than one copy should be in existence, to guard against the casualty of fire and the possibility of theft or mutilation.

4th. I thought I should have a long, uninterrupted day, but was sadly disappointed. As the evening twilight came on, I took my hat to go up to Charles's house—when two strangers came in, and introduced themselves as Mr. Wilson, of Missouri, and Mr. Haven, of New York City. They are Whig politicians, and came to see me from mere curiosity to see and talk with me.

Mr. Wilson said he had been settled in Missouri nearly twenty-five years, and most of that time in opposition to Colonel Thomas H. Benton, whose recent movements against the annexation of Texas were caused by his knowledge that nothing else could have saved him, politically, in Missouri. The people there were all of them perfectly willing to take Texas, and to

[1] A nephew of Mr. Adams, spending the season with the family at Quincy.

fight the Mexicans or the British; but they have an abhorrence to being burdened to pay the debt of Texas, which they know will amount to nearer twenty-five than ten millions of dollars; and they know that if Texas should be annexed to the United States there will not come to them one acre of ungranted land. Mr. Wilson discoursed thus for at least an hour, with little interruption from me. Mr. Haven said little.

I invited them to take tea with us; but they said it was growing late and they must return to Boston. They were scarcely gone, and our tea-table cleared, when Mr. Edward M. Clymer, a student at the law school at Cambridge, came, with a letter of recommendation from his uncle, William Heister, of New Holland, Pennsylvania. Mr. Clymer's object was only to spend an evening with us; which he did. He is a pleasant and very well-bred and sociable young man, for whom I regretted not to have convenient means to pass the night with us. Charles and his wife also spent the evening here.

The news by the Caledonia, and other newspaper intelligence, absorbed hours, and a private letter from George W. Erving to me, in the pamphlet of 1st March, 1818, referred me to one that I had received from (him) in London, after my appointment as Secretary of State and before I embarked to return home. Walter Hellen searched and found it for me, and with it a file of letters from him, received by me in England from 1815 to 1817. The one of which I was in search contained a quotation from a Latin poet, not of the hackneyed class, and I lost some time in searching for it, in vain—and more time in reading over the file.

5th. Mr. John J. Carr, the tenant of my homestead-farm, came to me this morning from a Whig committee with a subscription paper promising to pay blank sums for circulating papers among the people, and other expenses of the committee—which I declined to subscribe, observing to Mr. Carr that I thought there would be an impropriety in my contributing money for such a purpose, and by the indefinite terms in which the paper was drawn up it would be the incipient entrance upon a practice making all elections venal and setting up all public offices at auction to the highest bidder.

I labored hard at my task. Walter Hellen found for me the file of letters from George W. Erving which I received in England from 1815 to 1817, and among them was the one I wanted, an exquisite curiosity at this day—a letter from Madrid of 3d May, 1817, containing a classical quotation of Latin poetry, which, after diligent search, consuming no small time, I found was from Propertius, ii. 20, 32; three lines and two words. They are the key to Mr. George W. Erving's revelations to President Jackson in 1829 and 1832. They were a supplication to me from Erving to raise him from the hell of Madrid to the heaven of Paris.

6th. I attend meeting in the Temple, in the hope of composing my shattered nerves and abstracting my agitated bosom from the cares of the world and the interests of time. This is peculiarly my desire on the days when I partake of the Communion. This day, with sorrow I say, was too much absorbed by this world, and too little by that at the verge of which I stand. Heaven forgive me for it!

Mr. Lunt preached this morning from John xii. 27: "Now is my soul troubled; and what shall I say? Father, save me from this hour: but for this cause came I unto this hour." This is part of a discourse of Jesus only six days before the last Passion at Bethany, where He had performed the miracle of raising Lazarus from the dead. Here it was that between the worship of those who had witnessed the miracle and believed Him to be the Messiah, and the compassing of His death by those who disbelieved, which was within one week of being consummated, His soul was troubled. He revealed Himself and the destiny that awaited Him, in figurative and somewhat mysterious discourse, not understood even by His disciples until explained by His subsequent death and resurrection, and foretold at once His suffering and His glorification.

Mr. Lunt's view of his text appeared to me ingenious and impressive as he delivered his sermon; but other thoughts were forcing themselves upon my memory while he spoke, and my soul was like one of those sheets of ancient parchment upon which a poem in monkish rhyme is written over an oration of Cicero.

7th. This was one of the epochal days of my life. On the 26th of last month my son brought me the Boston Post of 25th March, containing Andrew Jackson's letter to Aaron Vail Brown of 12th February, 1843. The next morning I found on my file the semi-weekly Globe of 21st March, 1844, containing Brown's letter to the editors of the Globe, with Jackson's letter for publication. I determined to make them the text of the address which I had promised to deliver to the Young Men's Whig Club of Boston this evening. I thought this a suitable occasion for opening my defence before the country and the world against the conspiracy of Andrew Jackson, Aaron Vail Brown, George W. Erving, and Charles J. Ingersoll, with their coadjutors and tools, to ruin my good name and fabricate a fable to justify the robbery of Texas from Mexico, by the pretence that Texas had been by me treacherously surrendered to Spain.

I began the address that day, and finished it this day just in time for dinner. The composition, therefore, is excessively hurried and unskilfully put together, with sundry repetitions, which needed a pruning hand; but I had no time to give.

At six o'clock this afternoon I rode into Boston with my son and Walter Hellen, and precisely at seven alighted at the Tremont Temple. I was there received with the utmost simplicity by the committee of the Young Men's Whig Club, in a private room adjoining the hall, which was already crowded as full as it could hold. Several of my elderly friends were assembled in the private room, and I was specially greeted by Samuel T. Armstrong, Jeremiah Mason, Abbott Lawrence, Stephen C. Phillips, Robert C. Winthrop, Josiah Quincy, Jr., Samuel H. Walley, Jr., and several others.

Mr. Hayden, editor of the Boston Atlas, Erastus Brooks, of the New York Evening Express, and the younger Buckingham, applied for the use of my manuscript for immediate publication in their respective papers. I gave it, with a pledge that I should have a proof-sheet to revise before publication, to Mr. Hayden, the first applicant.

At precisely half-past seven I entered the hall, with my son, who is President of the Club, and with the Chairman of the

committee of the Club. The reception was complimentary and enthusiastic; and my son said that, after such a reception, it would be superfluous for him to do more than announce to them the name of his father, John Quincy Adams; whereupon another shout of welcome shook the house.

A young Mr. Coffin, at my request, read the letters of Aaron Vail Brown, and of Andrew Jackson, and I discoursed upon them two hours and ten minutes, much to the amusement of the auditory. The closing apostrophe to the young men of Boston was specially well received. As soon as the crowd was cleared away, we re-entered the carriage; left my son at the United States Hotel, and, with Walter Hellen, I returned to Quincy, reaching home at eleven.

8th. In the hurry of preparation for the last evening, my diary has run three days in arrear; and the high excitement of yesterday, with more than two hours of loud speaking, preceded and followed by the rides, has left upon me a feverish lassitude and longing for a vacation, ill suited to my condition. I am to address my constituents, the people of the Eighth Congressional District of Massachusetts, before the last of this month. I ought to have been at work upon it this day, but could not bring myself to it.

I allowed myself about three hours to transport three seedling stocks of pear-trees and one shag-bark walnut-tree from the nursery to the seminary—a very hazardous operation, and of the success of which I despair even while undertaking it. The trees are of six or seven years' growth, and would flourish in their native soil; but they stand too near other yet more valuable trees, and must be removed from their proximity.

The Atlas and the Boston Courier of this morning have notices of the meeting of the Young Men's Whig Club last evening at the Tremont Temple, and very commendatory accounts of my address, which the Atlas promises to give from my manuscript notes to-morrow. But I received no proof-sheet. My time was so wholly absorbed yesterday that I could not even read the Boston morning newspapers. The State elections keep up the political agitation. The accounts from Delaware are very equivocal; from Maryland encouraging, but

with a dark spot from the city of Baltimore; from Pennsylvania and New York they are desperate, and the general result is equally so. Maine has gone by a majority of more than ten thousand for free trade and Texas. It is hard to steer and row against wind and tide; but even in the agony of death we must say, like Lawrence, "Don't give up the ship."

9th. I redeemed the arrears of my diary, and began an address to my constituents, which I propose to have in readiness for the 30th of this month. But it will absorb all my time, so that I can do nothing else. I set out upon a new plan, and consider all that I have written from the 13th of July, when I got home, till the 26th of September, as waste paper. My address to the Young Whigs of Boston was published entire in the Boston Atlas of this day; but the paper did not come to me. The Morning Chronicle, the Liberty party paper, of yesterday had not even a notice of the meeting of the Whig Club of the night before. This day it has a very unfavorable account of the address, specially remarking that there was not a word in it about the Presidential election or the Presidential candidates. Yesterday was the day of the meeting of the Liberty party Convention to nominate candidates for Senators for the county of Norfolk, and a member of the House of Representatives of the United States for the Eighth Congressional District of Massachusetts in the Twenty-Ninth Congress. I received on Monday two letters from John Gulliver, of Roxbury, one of the Liberty party committee who conferred with me on the 1st of this month—extremely anxious between the fear that the meeting would, and the hope that they would not, nominate a candidate against me. There is in the Morning Chronicle of this day no notice of the meeting at Dedham yesterday. The Democratic party have nominated Isaac H. Wright, who was last year one of the Senators for the county of Norfolk in the Legislature of the State.

10th. The first accounts came in this day of State Government elections in New Jersey and Pennsylvania—the first favorable to the Whigs, the second far otherwise. Both parties have committees remaining at Washington during the recess, to superintend the issuing of documents and the circulation

of intelligence. Willis Green, of Kentucky, is the Chairman of the Whig Committee; Robert J. Walker, the Senator from Mississippi, Chairman of the Democracy. Walker printed a pamphlet, an address of the Democratic Association at Washington, D.C., headed "The South in Danger. Read before you Vote." Green undertook to circulate the same pamphlet in the North, and the Democrats charged him with forgery.

11th. I examined at last the publication in the Atlas of my address to the Young Men's Whig Club. The remainder of it is published in the Boston Courier, and, I suppose, in the Daily Advertiser of this day. There are a few mistakes of the press in the Atlas, none of much importance, except the word "vaccination" for "buccination"—which is ridiculous, and the more so because "buccination" is not a legitimate word, but one which I sported for the benefit of Aaron Vail Brown. "Buccino" is the Latin word for swelling the cheek to blow the trumpet or the horn, and there is a picture in the word. I made a noun substantive of it, by the common analogy of Latin verbs turned into English nouns. The compositor of the Atlas was not scholar enough to perceive it, and substituted for it a word which turned the whole sentence into nonsense.

The returns of the elections continue to come in most unpropitious. The Whigs have indeed carried the election in New Jersey, and Stratton will be the Governor of the State; but Pennsylvania is irretrievably sunk in Democracy, and her most popular statesmen are trickish and unsafe.

My projected address expands as I proceed. I am still wandering among first principles and generalities. I wish to call the attention of my countrymen to the pernicious feature of the slave-representation in the Government of the United States; but the people are so broken to it that it is of no avail to expose it. I have yet much to unfold of the Tennesseean conspiracy of Jackson, Erving, Aaron Vail Brown, and Charles Jared Ingersoll against me; but I am yet uncertain whether now is the most favorable time for completing the exposure, or whether to wait.

12th. By the Quincy Patriot of this day, it appears that the Convention of the Liberty party at Dedham last Tuesday nomi-

nated Appleton Howe, of Weymouth, for election to Congress for the Eighth Congressional District of Massachusetts. He was one of the committee from the Liberty party who visited me last week, and John Gulliver, another of them, is nominated as a Senator for the county of Norfolk. Howe has been several years a Senator from the county of Norfolk, and is a Major-General of the militia. Isaac H. Wright, the nominee of the Democratic Convention, was last year a Senator from the county; and this double nomination renders the question of the majority for the whole district more than doubtful.

I received twenty-five copies of the Boston Atlas of the 9th, containing my address to the Young Men's Whig Club, with all its imperfections on its head. I had them folded up to distribute, but sent only three — to William Greene, of Cincinnati, William H. Seward, of Auburn, and to Christopher Morgan, of the same place. There are errors of the manuscript and errors of the press which ought to be corrected, and for which I may be obliged to have a pamphlet edition printed at my own expense. It may be advisable, however, to wait for the replications of Jackson, Erving, Brown, and Charles J. Ingersoll, with all of whom I have yet hard work to go through. I do not deceive myself. A more formidable conspiracy against the good name of an honest public man never was plotted; and, besides numerous understrappers, they are four to one against me. I must sleep in armor, and be ready to meet them in Indian warfare.

14th. William Jackson, of Newton, and his brother, Francis Jackson, came in, returning from a tour to Plymouth to examine the course of the Old Colony Railroad. William Jackson is the candidate of the Liberty party for the office of Lieutenant-Governor of the Commonwealth. Francis Jackson is of the party who take no part in the Government, because it requires an oath to support the Constitution of the United States. William Jackson told me that he went to the Liberty party Convention last week at Dedham, to prevent, if possible, the nomination of a candidate for Congress against me; but he found it impossible. They were exceedingly zealous. He said he hoped I should be re-elected, but considered it doubtful.

Mr. William H. Story came from Brooklyn, New York, with an invitation to me to preside over a Whig mass-meeting there on the 24th of this month—which I declined; and I wrote also to Mr. Halsey, declining the invitation to read my address to the young men of Boston on the evening of the 23d, at the Tabernacle, in New York. I regret much that I could not accept that invitation.

15th. How often self-examination is followed by self-reproach, and how often self-reproach by self-absolution and the neglect or forgetfulness of reform! I had determined to attend the exhibition at Cambridge this morning, and, to be there in season at the meeting of the Committee of Overseers at ten o'clock, to leave home, at the latest, by half-past eight. The morning newspapers came by the mail, and among them the National Intelligencer of last Saturday, the 12th instant, containing the whole of my address of the 7th to the Young Men's Whig Club at Boston; and an idle curiosity to ascertain if it was correctly printed enticed me to read, till I found the watch within five minutes of ten, and that the carriage had been an hour and a half in waiting. I hurried through Boston to Cambridge, and found the performance of the exhibitions just commenced by a Latin oration. There was a prospectus of fourteen performances, three of which were omitted. Three in Latin, two in Greek, the rest in English. A dissertation upon the satire in Gulliver's Travels, by Charles Henry Glover, of Nantucket, the most amusing part of the day. He spoke of the Pilgrim's Progress and Robinson Crusoe, in parallel with Gulliver, as pre-eminently pictures of English life and manners.

16th. Excessively hurried and delayed. My son removed this day with his family to Boston. The further I proceed in my task, the more the field widens before me. I had received a letter of the 24th of last month from Francis Hilliard, of Roxbury, Chairman of the Whig committee of the Eighth Congressional District, inviting me to address my constituents and the public at such time and place as might be convenient and agreeable to myself. I had then just agreed to address the Young Men's Whig Club at Boston, and had not even com-

menced that address. I sent word by Mr. Loring to Mr. Hilliard that I would comply with that invitation, and fix the time and place for it, after getting through with the young men of Boston. Ever since the 7th I have been intending to write to Mr. Hilliard; but he called on me this morning for my answer. I proposed to him this day fortnight, the 30th of this month, at ten o'clock in the morning. The place I left entirely at the discretion of the committee to select, wishing only to suit the persons who will be likely to attend, that they may be put to as little inconvenience as possible. I had suggested to Mr. Loring the expediency of notifying the towns of the district and proposing to them to send delegations to attend the meeting—which Mr. Hilliard said he thought they would do. With regard to the place, Mr. Hilliard went and consulted with Mr. Brigham, and returned and said they proposed to apply for the use of the church at the Weymouth Landing; to which I readily agreed.

He asked if I thought of adding any religious solemnity to the meeting. I said I should be glad that the meeting should be opened with prayer by the minister of the church, or, if he should be reluctant, by Dr. Richard Storrs, the minister of the next orthodox church, at Braintree. And so the arrangement was concluded.

Mr. George S. Foster is a young man, a member of the Young Men's Henry Clay Association of New York. He came for the purpose of persuading me to attend at their mass-meeting next Wednesday, and to deliver over again that evening, in the Tabernacle, my address to the young men of Boston. I told him how much I regretted that I could not perform it, and that I had answered the invitation from Mr. Halsey to that effect. He then said that they would have a printing-press in the procession, and want an address to be struck off and circulated while the procession is moving. He urged me very warmly to write such an address; but I declined. I wasted too much time, and a little anger, upon a letter of Langdon Cheves, about the tariff, Texas, nullification, and disunion.

17th. I received my manuscript of the address from the Atlas office; but its publication in pamphlet form is yet problematical.

I have revised the errors of the publication in the Atlas, and have made up twenty copies and distributed them among several individuals, my friends, in several quarters of the Union. I shall soon be called to reply to furious assaults from the worthies whose characters and exploits I have brought into relief before the civilized world.

My main object now is the address to my constituents, to be delivered on the 30th of this month; but in the review of the proceedings of the last session of Congress I must make a selection of the topics which I am to discuss: 1. The choice of a Speaker whose election was contested. 2. The prostration of the law prescribing elections by single districts. 3. The exclusion from the journals of the protest against the subversion of the law. 4 The abortive effort to discard the gag-rule —which I am yet discussing.

Then come the Massachusetts resolutions, and the proceedings of the House upon them; the bill to refund Jackson's fine; the threatened repeal of the Tariff of 1842; the Oregon fever; the Texas fever, and treaty; the treaty with the German Customs Union, and the complicated intrigues and caballing for the annexation of Texas; with the three Baltimore Conventions; the Whig nomination of Henry Clay and Theodore Frelinghuysen; the mock Democratic nomination of John Tyler, without a Vice-President; the smuggled nomination of James K. Polk and George M. Dallas; the political contortions of John C. Calhoun, and the disunion schemes of R. Barnwell Rhett and Langdon Cheves—all form a compound subject of discoursing to my constituents. Out of all these I must make a selection, of which the slave-representation may be the common bond. A large portion of my time this day was consumed in a revolutionary letter of Langdon Cheves. There is an almost insuperable difficulty in my way—that I cannot discuss these matters without bearing upon the Presidential canvass.

18th. The pressure upon my brain increases, and my time becomes so totally absorbed in writing that I have now memory for scarcely anything that passes from day to day. This day, besides the journal of yesterday, I wrote four pages of my

task—an achievement which I shall probably never again perform.

Mr. G. W. Bryant came, from North Bridgewater, and invited me to go and address a meeting of the people there. He said the Liberty party were making very great exertions there, and were specially working for a concert with the Democracy; and they were detaching so many from the Whigs that they were apprehensive of losing the election of their candidate to represent the town in the State Legislature.

I told him that I had promised to address the people of the Eighth Congressional District on the 30th of this month. I had left it to the Whig committee of the district to fix upon the place where the address should be delivered, and I understood they had agreed upon Weymouth Landing. But I could divide my address in two, and deliver part of it at one place and part at another; and if he would see Mr. Francis Hilliard, of Roxbury, Mr. Brigham, of this town, Minott Thayer, of Braintree, or Thomas Loring, of Hingham, and could make an arrangement with them, I would go to North Bridgewater at any one or two days before or after the meeting at Weymouth Landing.

Dr. Nathaniel Miller, of Franklin, came also, to enquire if I could not visit that town, or that part of the county, where, he said, the Liberty party were extremely busy and courting favor with the Democracy. He made some enquiries about the deputation from that party which visited me, and particularly about M. M. Fisher, of Medway. At their Convention at Dedham there were fifty-five votes taken, of which there were thirty-six for Appleton Howe, fourteen for me, and five for this Mr. Fisher. Their Presidential candidate, James G. Birney, has come to Boston to electioneer for himself. He has been nominated by a Convention of Democrats at Saginaw, in the State of Michigan, as a member of the State Legislature, and is throwing off his mask and still trying to hide his face behind it. This coalition, secretly concerted, and just now coming out in its true colors, will certainly break down the election in this Eighth District for the next Congress. I hope I may not take it too much at heart, but that it will prepare me for retirement for the rest of my days.

19th. I received this morning a letter from John P. Kennedy, of Baltimore, thanking me for my exposure of that infamous fraud concocted by Andrew Jackson, George W. Erving, Aaron Vail Brown, and Charles J. Ingersoll, with the two Lewises and other understrappers, for the destruction of my character, and to accomplish the annexation of Texas and a fourth part of Mexico to the United States; but he gives me warning that I shall have the whole swarm of hornets upon me, and I must make up my mind to meet them.

In the progress of my address to my constituents, I am now coming to the encounter with the deepest, the cunningest, and the foulest rascal of them all. With the bold, dashing, base, and utterly baseless lies of Andrew Jackson I shall have not much trouble, and no danger but of assassination, not by him, but by one or another of his bloodhounds. With George W. Erving I shall have easy work if I can get hold of him, for his revelations have not yet been made public, and I only know that the statements drawn from them by Jackson, Brown, and Ingersoll are all equally false. Brown's note upon Jackson's letter is of itself enough to demolish him; he can never get over it. Ingersoll's falsehoods are more cautiously covered and more dexterously combined. There is cunning as well as impudence in his publishing his report as the report of the Committee of Foreign Affairs, although they rejected it. The mountebank mock-solemnity with which he announces the revelation of George W. Erving to Jackson may not perhaps be so easy to turn into ridicule; nor will it be so light a task to unravel his web of sophistry and chicanery woven from Erving's sleazy threads, as to untie the coarse and clumsy knots of Jackson and Brown. To an impartial jury I should have but a plain tale to tell, and the whole fabric of knavery would fall to pieces; but with prejudice, faction, false popularity, and unbridled profligacy, what will be the event? The odds are fearful. May God defend the right!

21st. Mr. Bryant, the Chairman of the Whig Club at North Bridgewater, came again, and I agreed with him to go there and address the people at ten o'clock in the morning, rain, snow, or shine, on Wednesday, the 6th of next month. I am

to go to Bennett's Hotel, and must be there by nine in the morning.

While he was here, Mr. C. C. P. Waterman, of Sandwich, on Cape Cod, came with an invitation from Zenas R. Hinckley and five others, a committee of the Whigs of that town, to meet and address them when it will best suit my convenience. I was obliged to decline this, having undertaken already more than I fear I shall be able to perform; that is, to address my constituents twice, at two different places, before I go to Washington, and before the approaching election.

I have also received written invitations from W. D. Ely, Corresponding Secretary of the Young Men's Institute at Hartford, Connecticut, to open a course of lectures for the winter for them there, in a letter of 8th October, transmitted to me with one of 17th October from Boston, from John P. Putnam; from H. S. McCall, Chairman of the Lecture Committee of the Young Men's Association at Albany, to address them on my way to Washington, about the middle of November; from Charles A. Stetson and four others, who have resolved upon a public celebration in aid of the funds of the Washington Monument Association in New York on the 25th November next. They say the occasion will be one of peculiar interest, and my presence and participation in the ceremonies are earnestly and respectfully solicited. These, with multitudes of others of little comparative interest, remain unanswered.

22d. In my address to the Young Men's Whig Club at Boston, I alluded to an incident in the Roman history merely from memory; and, in my extreme hurry, I hazarded it without verifying it by recurrence to Rollin or Livy. After the delivery of the discourse, I have felt a desire to verify my recollection of the facts, and asked Walter Hellen and Mary Louisa to look it up in Rollin. I found it myself this morning, first in Rollin, and afterwards in Livy, iii. 71. The event occurred in the 309th year ab urbe condita, at the close of a war with the Æqui and Volsci. The dispute was between the Ardeates and Aricini, and the people were wheedled into the judgment by an old soldier, eighty-three years of age, named Scaptius, who started up in the assembly of the people and declared that he would

not suffer his country to be cheated out of her property; that he himself had fought in the battle when that same territory was taken, and would not without remonstrance see it taken away. The people and their Tribunes took fire. The Consuls and Senators struggled in vain to shame them out of their self-degradation in adjudicating the territory to themselves. Scaptius and the Tribunes prevailed, and the territory was re-annexed.

This consultation of Livy was a temptation to dally with time to commune with him further; but I broke away from him, and wrote four pages of my proposed address, besides the journal of yesterday.

24th. I saw Sirius again, about five minutes risen. He rose, as near as I can estimate, ten minutes before five. The morning was very chilly. The sun rose perfectly clear, and his southern strides are now visible from one day to another. The pressure upon my time and nerves is indescribable.

Mr. S. T. Armstrong has been one of the truest friends that I have met with in this world. He came out from Boston this morning to invite me to dine with him—which I engaged to do this day fortnight, the 7th of November. He was present and heard my address to the Young Men's Whig Club at Boston. He retains more of any discourse of mine that he hears than any other person. He told me this day that he had never before heard that the value of amber was increased by the preservation of insects in it. I found the fact stated in Rees's Encyclopædia.

This afternoon Miss Catherine Thaxter called here, with a cousin of hers, apparently of a later generation, whom she introduced as Miss Susan Thaxter. Catherine spoke of my father and mother, and said she was here at the fiftieth anniversary of their marriage, which was of course the 25th of October, 1814, and she well remembered hearing my father say then to my mother that he loved her as dearly as he did on the wedding-day.

The Rev. Jonas Perkins, minister of the church in Braintree, at the Weymouth Landing, called towards evening. There is the place where, on the 17th of September, 1842, I addressed my constituents of the then Tenth District; and there is the

place where I am to address next Wednesday my constituents of the present Eighth District. As the performance is to be introduced by a religious invocation, Mr. Perkins asked me if I should have any objection to that solemnity being performed by Mr. Thomas Williams, of Providence, who was here a few days since.

I said, none, if it would be agreeable to Mr. Perkins himself. He said Mr. Williams had expressed to him his wish to officiate, and he was willing to gratify him. I requested Mr. Perkins, if he should on his way home pass by Mr. Minott Thayer's house, to call on him and say that I was grateful to him for his kind invitation to dinner on that day, but that I should be obliged to return home to dine, and that I begged him not to be at any expense for entertaining any company on that day. My feelings are very different at the prospect of this meeting from what they were on that occasion. All is now gloomy and discouraging, with a double opposition before me, and all but a certainty of failing to carry the election.

25th. My only interruption of a visitor this day was Mr. Lunt, who brought me a letter from the Rev. C. Briggs, inviting me to deliver a lecture at the opening of the Lyceum in Roxbury, two or three weeks hence. I have not time even to answer the invitation, and have numbers of unanswered invitations before me. But I wrote this day the journal of yesterday and four pages of the address for next Wednesday at Braintree. This hurried composition, however, has so pernicious an effect upon the style that my heart sinks within me at the thought of what I am going to deliver, and my only hope is in striking out about half of what I have written.

About half an hour before dinner, I took a walk round the garden, nursery, and orchard, looking into the seminary. The desolation of the season cast a gloom on my spirits. The fruit has been gathered from all the trees, except one bearing quince-tree on the borders of the pond. The ground is strewed with sere red and yellow leaves; it is wet, and gathered in clods. Kirk has taken up a number of my seedlings, and cut down others. Most of the large trees are mere stems, stripped of all their leaves. I hastened in from this prospect

to dinner. Again, as the sun went down, I walked up the hill to Charles's house, to see the sunset. But, although it was not quite five o'clock, the sun was already behind Mount Ararat. I went further over the hill, and surveyed the village, the surrounding country, the harbor and bay of Boston, the State-House of Boston itself, and the shaft of the Bunker Hill monument; and memory returned to the fact that this day eighty years ago my father and mother were united in marriage. What an "ordo sæculorum" commenced for me from that day! What was then the condition of the people who constituted the town of Braintree? What is the condition of the people of the three towns of Quincy, Braintree, and Randolph now? And what will be the condition of the occupiers of the soil of these three towns in eighty years from this day? The recollection of the past is pleasing and melancholy; the prospect of the future—oh, how gloomy it is! Not a soul now lives who was then in the bloom of life. Not a soul now living will be here in 1924. My own term—how soon it will close! And to whom will all this belong in eighty years from this day? Will prayer to God preserve the branches and shoots from my father's stock? What a phantasmagoria is human life!

26th. Mr. Loring was here this morning, alarmed at the double opposition of the Democracy and the Liberty party: each playing into the other's hands to defeat my election; each holding up an ex-Senator from the county of Norfolk in the State Legislature against me; neither expecting to elect their own candidate, but purposely combining to exclude me. I have no doubt of their success, and only ask to meet the exigency with a proper spirit. Leavitt, in the Morning Chronicle, hints that the object of the Liberty party in defeating my election is to force me upon the Legislature as a candidate for the Senate, and then to give a chance for Appleton Howe's election as the member for the district. The electioneering of the Liberty party, from Birney, their head, down, is more knavish than that of either of the others.

Mr. John Belcher, of Randolph, came, and said he was deputed by the Whigs of that place to invite me to visit and address them—which I told him would, much to my regret, be

impossible. He said they had no hopes of carrying a majority for me in that town, but would do what they could.

28th. Of the letters that I received this day, there was one from Abbott Lawrence, enclosing two to him from David S. Brown and Charles W. Churchman, both of Philadelphia—Brown is a Quaker—both dated the 24th, stating that Daniel L. Miller, Junr., a respectable young Quaker, and also abolitionist, would write me that same day a letter of enquiries about Polk, and Clay, and Texas, and entreating Mr. Lawrence to urge me to answer Miller's enquiries, because many Quaker and abolition votes would depend upon my answer.

By the same mail there came to myself a letter from Joseph R. Chandler, Charles Gibbons, President of the National Clay Club, A. J. Lewis, Nathan Sargent, and Charles W. Churchman, notifying me of this letter of enquiries from Daniel L. Miller, Junr., and urging me to answer it. Then two letters from Miller, both of the same date, one giving me notice of the other, which contains three questions for my opinion: 1. Whether the election of H. Clay would defeat the Texas annexation. 2. Whether the election of Polk would insure it. 3. Whether the annexation of Texas would advance or retard the abolition of slavery. I wrote a joking answer, but know not how he will take it. I could not with propriety write any other. It is curious how the polecat rascals work upon the Quakers, and to what base uses electioneering is turned. All the rest of this day, and until eleven at night, I was writing upon my address for next Wednesday. I want another week to finish it, as a new draft. It will now be a thing of shreds and patches, of which I am heart-sick.

29th. A soft, damp, clammy state of the atmosphere, still covered with murky clouds, till, as the night darkened, the stars of the western horizon first appeared, and, before I retired to bed, at eleven P.M., the sky was clear, and the waning moon was bright. What small incidents cheer or depress the spirits! I was fretting all day with the terror of a similar day to-morrow, and the prospect of having to go to Braintree through floods of rain and then deliver the address to empty walls. The brightening sky, as I closed the writing of my

address, was delicious—a promise of a fair day to-morrow; and I found, upon a review, that the new introductory, written since I finished the first draft last Saturday, with the last half of that draft, would make a sufficiently well-compacted discourse for a delivery of two full hours; and I was at my ease. But nothing less than the incessant toil of writing, from the day after I addressed the Young Whigs of Boston, could have produced this result. Though often called to extemporize, I never do it with any satisfaction to myself.

This morning, as the floods of rain were falling, a young man named Seymour came, on horseback, from Boston, where he had arrived by the night passage from New York. He brought me a letter from J. R. S. Van Vleet, Chairman of the committee of arrangements of the Whigs of New York, who are to have another great procession of trades to-morrow, among which will be the printers, and they want me to write a short address to the people, which they may print, with my name, while they are moving. I told this young man it was impossible, being engaged day and night in preparing an address to be delivered to the people of my own district to-morrow. He asked for a written answer, but I thought a verbal one sufficient. The poor young man said he was very unwell, and had not slept last night. I pitied him.

30th. I rose with gratitude for the clear, blue sky, and saw the sun rise from my son's house on the hill. The meeting was announced for half-past ten. There was a procession formed to meet me at Mr. Thayer's house and escort me to the meeting-house, with a small musical band; and Major Thomas Adams, of Quincy, was the marshal. But the procession assembled slowly, and it was past eleven before they came. I marched between Mr. Thayer and Mr. Francis Hilliard. There was a stand on a platform in front of the pulpit, with a large folio Bible upon it, and upon that Bible I read my address. The choir, in the organ loft, sang the hymn America. The Rev. Thomas Williams read the chapter, 1 Samuel xii., five verses, and made a short prayer. Mr. Francis Hilliard, Chairman of the District Whig Committee, announced me as about to address the meeting—which I did for two hours and a quarter;

RHODES HOUSE OXFORD

after which Mr. Hilliard announced that there would be another meeting at the same place at half-past three in the afternoon, but that I should not be present. My address was well received. The house was not filled. The Democracy had stretched a Polk-and-Dallas flag across the way, under which the procession was to pass; but the wind blew it down. We got home at half-past two, well satisfied and grateful for the day.

BOSTON, *November* 2d.—I visited Mr. Robert C. Winthrop, and had a long conversation with him respecting his relative, George W. Erving, his base treatment of me, and my public notices of him. I told Mr. Winthrop that when, before the close of the session of Congress, he gave me Charles J. Ingersoll's view of the Texas question, and I observed to him my astonishment at the disclosure of Erving's conduct, never having, in the course of forty years' acquaintance, given him the slightest cause of offence, but having even named him to Mr. Monroe as a candidate for the mission to France, and Winthrop said he would communicate to Mr. Erving what I said, I did purposely intend to give Mr. Erving time to offer any explanation or apology to me, which the occasion required, to repair the wrong he had done me. He has not done it. By the letter to Winthrop, from which he read me lately an extract, he expresses his regret at having assailed me; admits that I had given him no cause for it, and says that Jackson had gone far beyond anything that he had said to him would warrant. But he had offered neither excuse, apology, nor explanation to me, and in handling him as I have been compelled to do, I have acted with extreme reluctance. I assured Mr. Winthrop, also, that my son would countenance no design or attempt to place him in competition with him, and that he would have my best wishes for his continuance in his present station as long as it would be agreeable to him, and for his promotion to any other office of higher dignity and importance. He expressed much gratification at these assurances, but said he had determined not to serve in Congress after this next election.

My next call was at the Atlas office, where Mr. Hayden returned me the manuscript of my address at Braintree. It

is published at full length in the Atlas of this morning—five columns, small type. By these two addresses to the Young Men's Whig Club at Boston, and to my constituents of the Eighth Congressional District, I have put myself upon trial by God and my country. May God be my judge!

QUINCY, 5th.—I received from Nashville, Tennessee, a newspaper containing Andrew Jackson's first answer to my address to the young men of Boston. He is in great fury, but totally abandons the charge of the Erving treaty. I had been all the morning commenting upon James K. Polk's letter declaring his opinion in favor of the immediate annexation of Texas, in which he assails me directly by name; and the remainder of the day and evening, till eleven at night, I was absorbed in writing a reply to Jackson's letter to Robert Armstrong. The paper was enclosed to me by Boyd McNairy. Jackson denies positively that he ever advised the acceptance of the Sabine for the western boundary. Whether he equivocates upon the word *advised*, or has totally forgotten his interview with me of 2d and 3d February, 1819? The memory of violent men is always the slave of their passions. Jackson pledges himself to answer my charge further as soon as he can procure the Erving manuscripts from Washington.

6th. I added this morning one page to my notice of Andrew Jackson's first answer to my summons in the address to the young men of Boston. I sent Kirk, with my compliments, to Mr. Lunt, and invited him to go with me to North Bridgewater; which he accepted. I took him up at his house at eight o'clock, and we rode through Braintree, West Randolph, and a corner of Stoughton, to North Bridgewater, twelve miles. At West Randolph, about half-way, we were met by a cavalcade of about one hundred men, the leader of whom came up to the carriage, accosted me by name, and announced that they were citizens of Norfolk, Bristol, and Plymouth Counties, who had come to escort me to the place of meeting; for which I returned to them my cordial thanks. They accordingly formed a line, and preceded the carriage to Bennet's Tavern, at North Bridgewater. Here I found Mr. Bryant, the Chairman of the Whig committee who had invited me, with a great crowd of

respectable-looking persons from all the neighboring towns, of whom those named in the margin[1] were, with Thomas French, of Canton, nearly all whom I had before known. Many were introduced to me, among whom several warriors of the Revolution, with war-worn and time-worn faces and forms. At half-past ten a procession was formed, preceded by a band of martial music, and we marched to the meeting-house. Mr. Seth Sprague, Junr., of Duxbury, presided. They began with a hymn. The reverend pastor of the church made a prayer. Mr. Sprague read a written paper complimentary to me, and introduced me. From a quarter-past eleven to half-past one I read from the pulpit, with my manuscripts on the Bible, my address, which was listened to with close attention, and well received. Mr. Phillips and Mr. Sprague read for me Jackson's letter to Armstrong, and other newspaper extracts. There was sung another hymn. An afternoon meeting at half-past two, at which Mr. Phillips was to speak, was announced, and we adjourned to a frugal and temperate dinner at the inn; immediately after which I returned to Quincy.

BOSTON, 7th.—I called at my son's office, and learnt that there is a second letter from Andrew Jackson in answer to my address to the young men of Boston. This last is addressed to Blair, the editor of the Globe, and calls upon him for help in this controversy. There was great agitation in the streets, especially in State Street, on the opposite sides of which are the Atlas and Times newspaper offices, before the doors of which crowds were collected, awaiting the election returns from New York. They were then highly favorable to the Whig party. At four o'clock we went and dined at Mr. Samuel T. Armstrong's. There was a very numerous Democratic torch-light procession this evening, who visited the dwelling-house of Mr. George Bancroft, the Democratic candidate for the office of Governor of the Commonwealth. They were noisy, but not otherwise disorderly. Soon after ten I retired to bed, and about midnight was awaked by the firing of twenty-six guns—the Io Triumphe of the Democrats on receiving the election returns from Albany.

[1] The names of seven persons in the margin.

8th. I understood the meaning of the guns fired last night on receipt of the election returns from the western counties of New York by the train of cars from Albany. They settle the Presidential election, and James K. Polk, of Tennessee, is to be President of the United States for four years from the 4th of March, 1845. What the further events of this issue may be is not clear, but it will be the signal for my retirement from public life. It is the victory of the slavery element in the constitution of the United States. Providence, I trust, intends it for wise purposes, and will direct it to good ends. From the sphere of public action I must, at all events, very soon be removed. My removal now is but a few days in advance of the doom of nature, and gives me time, if I have energy to improve it, which will not be lost.

I called this morning on Dr. Frothingham, and, just before reaching his door, met Mr. Isaac P. Davis, who accosted me with grievous lamentation over the lost hopes of the election. With Dr. Frothingham I examined and we construed the whole sixteenth elegy of the second book of Propertius, and we found that there is extant in English a translation in verse of this author, published in 1782, without the name of the translator.

I called on Judge Davis, who condoled with me on the loss of the Presidential election; and also that in the list of stars in Rees's Encyclopædia, *Canopus* is omitted. The Judge thinks also that in Professor Williams's account of their expedition to observe the solar eclipse of 1780, the star which they saw, and which he calls Lucida Lyræ, was in truth Arcturus.

9th. There was an immense meeting of Whigs last evening in Faneuil Hall, in Boston. Daniel Webster was there, and made a speech commencing with "What though the field be lost; all is not lost," etc. The depression and despondency of the Whig party at the issue of the Presidential election in the State of New York is beyond all example or precedent. I spent the evening in folding up copies of my two addresses to my constituents at Braintree and at North Bridgewater, and in reflecting upon the duty that will now devolve upon me, to retire for the short remainder of my days from public life

altogether. There are still duties enough to occupy the rest of my time, and to prepare me for my closing scene.

QUINCY, 11th.—Thick fog in the morning, thunder and lightning with a sprinkling of rain in the afternoon. Evening, calm, moderate, damp, cloudy. It was the day of election for Electors of President and Vice-President of the United States; for Governor, Lieutenant-Governor, Senators, and Representatives of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts, and for members of the House of Representatives of the United States in the Twenty-Ninth Congress. For this last office I was the candidate nominated by the Whigs, with two opponent nominations—Isaac H. Wright, of Roxbury, by the Democrats, and Appleton Howe, of Weymouth, by the Liberty party. I passed the day under a scarcely doubting anticipation of the failure of my own election. Just before noon I went to the Town-House, where I tore off my own name from the Whig ticket, and deposited the remainder in the ballot-box. I gave my own name, which I had torn off, to Harvey Field, at his request.

In the evening E. Price Greenleaf came in, with a report of the election returns from the adjoining towns of Braintree, Randolph, and Hingham—more favorable, on the whole, than I had expected, yet not enough so wholly to resolve my doubts.

I wrote in the evening a letter to Edward Everett, to enclose those of J. S. Freeman; and one to Erastus C. Benedict, Secretary of the New York Historical Society, accepting their invitation to attend their fortieth anniversary meeting on the 20th. I wasted no small portion of this day in searching for Andrew Jackson's answers to my invitations to him to dine with me in January and March, 1819, and found two of them. He denies having had any communication with me in 1819.

12th. The following is the copy of the Whig ticket voted for yesterday at Quincy, and for which I voted, after tearing from it my own name and pinning to the remnant of the paper the strip bearing the name of Samuel Curtis:

WHIG TICKET.

For Governor of Massachusetts,
George N. Briggs.

For Lieutenant-Governor of Massachusetts,
John Reed.

For Presidential Electors.
Electors at Large,
Abbott Lawrence, of Boston.
Lewis Strong, of Northampton.

District Electors,
No. 1. Nathan Appleton, of Boston.
No. 2. John Perry Allen, of Manchester.
No. 3. Homer Bartlett, of Lowell.
No. 4. Abraham R. Thompson, of Charlestown.
No. 5. Charles Allen, of Worcester.
No. 6. William B. Calhoun, of Springfield.
No. 7. Chauncy B. Rising, of Worthington.
No. 8. Elijah Vose, of Dorchester.
No. 9. William Baylies, of West Bridgewater.
No. 10. Seth Crowell, of Dennis.

For Senators from Norfolk County,
Benjamin F. Copeland, of Roxbury.
Luther Metcalf, of Medway.
Joseph Richards, of Braintree.

For Representative in Congress from District No. 8,
John Quincy Adams, of Quincy.

For Representative to General Court,
Samuel Curtis.

The practice is for each voter to put into the ballot-box the whole printed ticket; but every individual strikes out or effaces any name for which he chooses not to vote, and substitutes another name in its place. Candidates usually strike out their own names, but not always. There is no law authorizing the rejection of any man's vote for himself. The majority in the town of Quincy at the autumnal elections has been for several years Democratic, consisting of transient stone-cutters from New Hampshire. There were taken yesterday seven hundred and nineteen votes. Of the returns, I only know that there were three hundred and forty-five for me; not a majority of the whole.

The Boston Atlas and Courier of this morning did not come by the regular mail, but I received a Courier under a blank cover. My son came out from Boston with the Atlas, which has the returns from the whole Commonwealth except six towns. The Whig ticket has been sweepingly successful. The vote in the Eighth Congressional District is eight thousand and forty-one for me; five thousand three hundred and twenty-two for Wright; eight hundred and fifty for Howe and all others. A result which I dared not expect, and upon which I dare not attempt to express my feelings.

BOSTON, 13th.—At noon I called on Dr. N. L. Frothingham, and passed an hour with him examining his Propertius—Burman's edition—the best extant. My edition, Baskerville's quarto, has nothing but the text, and the passage quoted in G. W. Erving's letter is in the twentieth elegy of the second book; in Burman's edition it is the sixteenth. But we found no explanation of the difference. The Doctor asked me what had so much excited the attention of my mind to this passage of Propertius. I told him it was the quotation of it in G. W. Erving's letter, and its whimsical connection of it with the Texas question, and with Erving's base and treacherous treatment of me.

Called at Judge John Davis's. He asked me to go with him this evening to the Wednesday Evening Club, of which I was a member in 1790, and again in 1802 and until 1809; it was this evening at Dr. Francis Parkman's, and I promised to go. Returning home, I directed Benjamin F. Andrews to go, at a quarter-before eight, with the carriage, and take up Judge Davis, in Milton Place, and come for me to Charles's house; which he did, and I spent the evening with the club at the Rev. Dr. Francis Parkman's. There were about thirty persons present, among whom five or six strangers. At half-past ten I took Judge Davis home, and then returned to my son's house. I found Judge Davis exceedingly gratified with my notice of the founders of the Plymouth Colony in my address at North Bridgewater.

14th. This morning I went astray in the library, and stumbled upon a Museum Criticum, or Cambridge Classical Re-

searches, in two 8vo volumes, 1826; and in the second volume, at page 140, I find a review of two articles—publications at Milan, by Angel May, of fragments of six orations of Cicero, inedited, found on Bobian palimpsest manuscripts, one passage from which I copy here as truly Ciceronian, Pro Scauro, p. 11: "Venio nunc ad testes; in quibus docebo non modo nullam fidem, et auctoritatem, sed ne speciem quidem esse aut imaginem. Testium et enim fidem primum ipsa tollit consensio quæ late facta est compromisso Sardorum, et conjuratione rogitata. Deinde illa cupiditas quæ suscepta est spe et promissione præmiorum. Postremo ipsa natio, cujus tanta vanitas est, ut libertatem a servitute nulla re alia, nisi mentiendi licentia, distinguendum putet." This definition of liberty is by no means confined to the ancient Sardians.

16th. I called at the office of the Boston Atlas, where Dr. Brewer gave me copies of the paper of 9th October, 1844, containing my address to the Young Men's Whig Club, at Boston, on the 7th. The address of 30th October, at Braintree, is in the Atlas of 2d November, and the address of 6th November, at North Bridgewater, in the Boston Courier of 9th November. These papers embrace my defence against the infamous conspiracy of Andrew Jackson, George W. Erving, Aaron Vail Brown, and Charles Jared Ingersoll. I have by design taken this mode of appealing to my constituents, to the world, and to posterity. My constituents have answered, and nobly vindicated my character. In the same district where, in 1842, I only received five thousand nine hundred and ninety-six votes, I have now received eight thousand and ninety-one; and where I had a majority of less than five hundred, I have now a majority exceeding nineteen hundred. The voice of the world and of posterity is yet to be heard.

Mr. Nathan Procter Smith, with his wife, three sons, of about twelve, ten, and seven, and a daughter, of nine, came to see me. That, he said, was all his object. He only wished that all his children should see me. He lives in Roxbury, the new part of the town, Eustis Street, and does business in Boston, in connection with the Great Western Railway. Of this class of visitors I have many, but do not feel myself much flattered by

their motives. "Dulce est digito monstrari, et dicier hic est," says Juvenal; but it is pleasing only to vanity. The curiosity to see a person of great notoriety imports nothing favorable or friendly to him; it is mere selfish curiosity.

NEW YORK, 20th.—The visitors were so numerous, and the transactions of the day so various, that they left scarcely a distinct impression upon my mind of anything. Professor Mason, as Chairman of the committee of arrangements of the New York Historical Society, came early, and informed me of the arrangements for the day. A committee of five members of the Society, with Mr. W. Beach Lawrence, a Vice-President, came, and welcomed me to the city. An interlude of no small note was the friendly visit of Colonel Bankhead, to apprise me that Mr. Samuel L. Gouverneur was in possession of a letter from General Jackson fully approving the Florida Treaty. We dined at Bunker's at half-past three; and, at half-past four, carriages from the Society came, and took me, with Dr. John Codman, Rev. Alexander Young, and Rev. George E. Ellis, to the Astor House, where we took up Mr. Leverett Saltonstall and proceeded to the library-room of the University, where the meeting of the Historical Society was held, the President, Albert Gallatin, being in the chair. The numbers of the Society are unlimited, and the only business done was the admission, by an open vote, of sundry members, nominated at a previous meeting, and the nomination of sundry others, among whom was John Jacob Astor. The assembly was quite numerous, and thronged the spacious apartment. They then joined in a procession of carriages to the Church of the Messiah, of which Orville Dewey is the pastor, where an oration was delivered by John Romeyn Brodhead upon historical subjects. He has been agent of the State to collect documents relating to its history in England, France, and Holland; of which agency he gave an interesting account, interspersed with several passages of beautiful eloquence. The house is large, and was well filled. The discourse was preceded by a prayer by Rev. Dr. De Witt, of the Reformed Dutch Church. The closing benediction was by Dr. Codman.

From the church, between eight and nine o'clock, the Society

adjourned to the New York Hotel, where a magnificent dinner was prepared for three hundred persons. Mr. Gallatin had not gone to the church, but presided at the table for about an hour, and then retired before the speeches began. Mr. William Beach Lawrence presided the remainder of the evening. Mr. Luther Bradish, late Lieutenant-Governor of New York, toasted me—or roasted me—with a speech so fulsome that it overset all my philosophy, and I stammered a reply, the only palliation of which was its brevity. The speeches followed till some time past midnight, when I retired with my colleagues, Saltonstall, Young, and Ellis.

21st. Last evening Dr. Wainwright, who sat next to me at table, asked me if I was aware that Mr. Gouverneur possessed a letter from General Jackson to President Monroe fully approving the Florida Treaty in 1819. I said I was. He asked me if I had received the information from or through John A. Hamilton. I said I had not, but was not at liberty to tell him from whom I had received it. He said the reason of his asking me the last question was that there had been some days since a conversation upon the subject in the office of Mr. Hamilton. About eleven o'clock, while at table, I received a letter from Blakeman, M.D., enclosing an old Massachusetts pine-tree shilling, which he wished through me to present to the New York Historical Society. Dr. Blakeman was to me a total stranger, but, after consultation with Mr. Lawrence and Dr. Wainwright, I presented the shilling, and gave a brief summary history of the coinage of 1652; and I took occasion to pay a tribute of respect to Albert Gallatin, which I had forgotten to do when up before.

This morning Mr. Gouverneur called on me at eight, and told me that he had, according to his recollection, a letter from General Jackson to President Monroe, written at New York in February, 1819, and speaking of the Florida Treaty as universally approved; a confidential letter from W. L. L. Brent to Mr. Monroe, entreating him to place no confidence in and trust nothing to George W. Erving; and a letter from Thomas Jefferson to Mr. Monroe, speaking lightly of the French claim

west of the Mississippi. He promised to communicate these papers to me on his return to Washington.

WASHINGTON, 25th.—I arrived here on Saturday evening, with a clear sky, bright moonlight, and the atmosphere of May rather than of November. Yesterday morning it was yet warm, but the wind came round to the northwest, and it was all day growing cold; and, as I was returning from church last evening between five and six o'clock, I saw the moon just risen, with the shadow of the earth already encroaching upon her disk. The eclipse was total, and lasted upwards of three hours; but the cold was so pinching that I could look at it only once or twice, and then less than five minutes at a time. This day has been of bright, clear, disqualifying cold. I unpacked my trunks, and immediately missed one or two articles, precisely those I wanted and left behind. It made a day of fruitless search and of wasted time.

I walked out for exercise, and at the National Intelligencer office saw Mr. Gales in deep distress at the issue, totally unexpected, of the Presidential election. He is in despair, and foresees that it must prove his irretrievable ruin. It has been accomplished by fraud through the slave-representation. The partial associations of Native Americans, Irish Catholics, abolition societies, Liberty party, the Pope of Rome, the Democracy of the sword, and the dotage of a ruffian, are sealing the fate of this nation, which nothing less than the interposition of Omnipotence can save.

I asked Mr. Gales to send me the Intelligencer from the 14th, which he did, and I sent him the Boston Atlas of 2d November and the Courier of 9th November, containing my addresses at Braintree and at North Bridgewater, which he had not read.

After I came home, Mr. Michael Nourse, a ruling elder of the Second Presbyterian Church, called on me, and enquired if I would consent to go as a delegate from that church and society to the Sabbath-Day Convention, to be held at Baltimore next Wednesday.

I said I should feel honored by the selection, but doubted whether it would be in my power to go. The meeting of the society was held at half-past four this afternoon; I did not

attend it; but in the evening the Rev. Mr. Knox and Mr. Nourse came as a committee from the meeting to inform me that I had been elected a delegate from the society to the Convention. I expressed my grateful sensibility for the honor conferred upon me, and promised to attend the Convention if it should be in my power. I know not if this acceptance be prudent, but, as an act of kindness to the society and a testimony of respect for the Sabbath, I believed it proper.

27th. At five I breakfasted, and rode to the depot of the train of cars for Baltimore. Met there the Rev. Dr. Laurie and Mr. Knox, whom I informed that, my wife being better, I had concluded to come to Baltimore and attend the Sabbath-Day Convention. At six we started, and at a quarter-past eight alighted at the depot in Baltimore. I walked to Barnum's Hotel and bespoke a bed-chamber. Met there Mr. Chambers, of Chambersburg, and Harmar Denny, of Pittsburg, and Mr. Newkirk, of Philadelphia, and sundry others, delegates to the Convention. At a quarter-before ten Mr. Knox called for me, and I went with him to the First Baptist Church, in Sharp Street, which we found filled with about twelve hundred delegates to the National Lord's-Day Convention. Mr. Hanmer, the minister of the church, moved that Judge Willard Hall, of Delaware, should be Chairman of the meeting to organize the Convention, which was voted by acclamation, and he took the chair. Two secretaries were chosen, and a committee of five, Bishop Waugh, Dr. Bond, Mr. Stilman, Mr. Atwood, and Mr. Gideon, were appointed to submit officers and rules for the government of the Convention.

While they were out, Mr. Powell, of Philadelphia, was requested to address the meeting—which, notwithstanding some objections, he did. The committee soon came in, and reported John Quincy Adams, President; seven Vice-Presidents—1, Willard Hall; 2, Theodore Frelinghuysen; 3, Dr. Nott; 4, Bishop Waugh; 5, J. A. Brown; 6, H. V. D. Johns; 7, J. J. Kingsford —and four Secretaries, Harmar Denny, C. W. Ridgely, C. C. Davis, and T. Stilman, which nominations were approved by a unanimous vote.

I took the chair, and made a very brief address to the Con-

vention, and the Committee on Officers and Rules made a supplementary report of eight rules; the first of which was that the Convention should meet at nine A.M., sit till one P.M., adjourn till three P.M., adjourn at five, and meet again at seven P.M. There was some discussion whether the question should be taken upon all the rules at once, or upon each rule separately. After some debate, a motion was made to take one question upon all the rules; which was carried, by a large majority, and they were adopted with only two or three dissenting votes.

There was much discussion about a roll-call of the members, and, after an attempt to read over the names, which it was found would consume more time than the Convention could spare, a committee of enrolment was appointed, to whom all members having credentials were ordered to present them; and members having no credentials were to be accredited upon their own declaration.

A letter from T. Frelinghuysen was read, regretting his inability to attend the Convention; whereupon James Clarke was appointed Second Vice-President in his place. Bishop Waugh, Methodist, read a letter addressed to the Convention with enclosed papers; but a committee had been appointed to report the business to be acted upon by the Convention; and a rule required that all communications addressed to the Convention should be referred to the Business Committee. They reported seven resolutions; the first of which was a general one, averring it the duty of all men to remember the Sabbath and keep it holy. This started a snarling debate. Mr. Lemmon, a delegate from Baltimore, and Mr. Magruder, of Virginia, insisted that the Sabbath, being an abrogated Jewish institution, (was) in no wise binding upon Christians.

This was in substance nothing more than an objection to the use of the word Sabbath instead of the Lord's Day; but they misunderstood it as an infidel attempt to break up the Convention itself. Attempts were made to silence Mr. Lemmon and Mr. Magruder. They were repeatedly called to order. Magruder was loudly hissed, and there were numerous calls to turn him out.

I maintained them both in their right to speak until they

were heard through. A motion was made to lay Mr. Lemmon's amendment on the table, and question made whether that motion was debatable. I decided that it was, there being no rule to the contrary. It was accordingly warmly debated till the time for adjournment, immediately before which the question was taken, and Mr. Lemmon's amendment was laid on the table by an apparently unanimous vote.

At one o'clock the Convention adjourned till three. As we were retiring, Mr. Lemmon put into my hand a printed paper, headed "Report for the Lord's-Day Convention." I had forgotten, in packing up my valise, to put in it a pen—which reminded me of "La gageure imprévue." I stopped at a shop and purchased a paper of barrel steel pens. At Barnum's they had dinner at half-past two. I found myself seated by Lloyd M. Rogers, but was obliged to leave the table, dinner half over, to take the chair of the Convention at three. The first and seven other resolutions offered by the Business Committee were now passed in quick succession by unanimous votes, before Messrs. Lemmon and Magruder came in. The Convention adjourned from five to seven, and sat again from seven to ten. The house crowded to its utmost capacity. Adjourned to nine to-morrow morning.

28th. Precisely at nine o'clock I took the chair of the Convention, of whom very few members were present. Bishop Waugh, of the Methodist Episcopal Church, made the prayer, kneeling. The Rev. Justin Edwards, Chairman of the Business Committee, presented successively a number of resolutions, all having reference to the observance of the Lord's Day, and three several addresses to the canal commissioners, to the directors of railroads, and to the people of the United States, all of which were read and adopted by the Convention without debate. Sundry members of the Convention offered separate resolutions, which were referred to the Business Committee, then reported by them with such modifications as they thought advisable, then read and adopted without opposition.

In this way, resolutions recommending to innkeepers to close their bar-rooms on Sundays, to the officers of the army exhorting them not to exact military service from the soldiers on

that day, and a recommendation to the ministers of the gospel to preach a sermon once every year urging the faithful observances of the day, (were disposed of), and there was a resolution expressing the regret of the Convention that Congress should, within the last few years, repeatedly have transacted public business on Sunday.

As the essential business of the Convention was done, I resolved to return home this evening; and, thinking it fair to leave Judge Hall a turn to preside, I took leave of the Convention before adjourning at one o'clock; upon which they passed a vote of thanks. I dined at Barnum's, excused myself to J. P. Kennedy, who had invited me to dine with him to-morrow, took the cars to Washington at five, found Benjamin at the depot, and walked home.

December 2d. Precisely at noon, John W. Jones, Speaker of the House of Representatives of the United States, took the chair, and called the House to order. The roll was then called, and one hundred and seventy-five members answered to their names. Seven new members, elected to supply vacancies, were sworn in. George W. Hopkins moved a message to the Senate, to inform them that the House was ready for business, and Cave Johnson moved a joint committee to inform the President that the two Houses were assembled, and ready to receive any communication he may be pleased to make to them. The Senate concurred by a corresponding message. The members of the committee on the part of the House were Cave Johnson and Joseph R. Ingersoll. Isaac E. Holmes, of Charleston, South Carolina, moved the immediate appointment of a Chaplain. The Speaker told him there must first be a joint resolution for the appointment of two Chaplains, of different denominations, one by each House, to interchange weekly. He then moved the usual resolution.

John Pettit, of Indiana, moved an amendment, provided that the Chaplains should be paid by voluntary contribution of the members, without charge upon the people, and said he had prepared a subscription paper, and put down his own name for five dollars; and if any one would give more, he would engage to double any such increased subscription; and then he made

a stump-speech. McConnell moved the previous question. McKay said there was a law authorizing appropriations to pay for Chaplains, and Steenrod said the appropriation for the present session was already made. The Speaker said these objections came too late. Pettit's amendment was rejected by yeas and nays. Holmes's resolution was adopted without call for yeas and nays. I gave notice that I should to-morrow move a resolution to rescind the twenty-fifth rule, which excludes the reception of abolition petitions. Dromgoole said my motion was not in order; but it was entered on the journal. Giddings thought they would trip me up on the point of order, and thought it would be necessary to move an amendment of the rules; but I assured him that "rescind" was the word.

3d. Last evening General Parker, Chief Clerk of the War Department, called and spent an hour with me. I showed him the note from General Jackson of 25th January, 1819, declining our invitation of him and his family to dinner; and asked him if he knew in whose handwriting it was. He said it was Colonel Robert Butler's. The note accepting the invitation to dine on the 4th of March, 1819, is in another hand—not Jackson's. Parker said he should know it if he could see it. But it is mislaid; I know not whether here or at Quincy.

At the meeting of the House this day, Cave Johnson, from the joint committee to wait on the President, reported that they had performed that service, and the President had informed them that he would make a communication to Congress at twelve o'clock this day. R. M. Saunders moved the appointment of the standing committees; which was agreed to. In pursuance of the notice I had given yesterday, I moved the following resolution: "Resolved, That the twenty-fifth standing rule for conducting business in this House, in the following words, 'No petition, memorial, resolution, or other paper praying the abolition of slavery in the District of Columbia or any State or Territory, or the slave-trade between the States or Territories in which it now exists, shall be received by this House, or entertained in any way whatever,' be, and the same is hereby, rescinded." I called for the yeas and nays. Jacob Thompson, of Mississippi, moved to lay the resolution on the

table. I called for the yeas and nays on that motion. As the Clerk was about to begin the call, the President's message was announced and received. A member called for the reading of the message. I said I hoped the question upon my resolution would be taken. The Clerk called the roll, and the motion to lay on the table was rejected—eighty-one to one hundred and four. The question was then put on the resolution; and it was carried—one hundred and eight to eighty. Blessed, forever blessed, be the name of God![1]

The President's message was immediately afterwards read, and some debate followed how to dispose of it; referred to the committee of the whole on the state of the Union, and ten thousand copies of it to be printed. After some miscellaneous business, about three, the House adjourned.

5th. I had a morning visit from Robert Owen, of Lanark, a man with whom I first became acquainted in London, in 1817—a speculative, scheming, mischievous man. He had then succeeded in accumulating a large fortune by forming a community at Lanark, in Scotland, consisting of poor laborers, but who were said to prosper into competency and affluence and contentment, while they made his fortune. But he was ambitious of working his system upon a larger scale; and he came to this country full of the scheme of new-modelling human society. He formed an establishment in the State of Indiana, named New Harmony, and delivered discourses on the new organization of society, and trumpeted abroad his Utopia, till it fell into ruin. His establishment was left a wreck, and he went back to his own country, to practise dupery again there.

Robert Owen and Fanny Wright have now come again to this country, and he apparently as crafty crazy as ever. He said he wanted to have a long interview with me; and I promised to receive him any morning from ten to twelve.

At the War Department I compared the handwriting of General Jackson's note accepting my invitation to dine on the 4th of March, 1819, with that of a letter from him to the Secretary of War of 1st February, 1819, and they appeared

[1] This was the third and last of the triumphs of Mr. Adams in his difficult career in the House of Representatives.

to be the same. Mr. Elliot was here this evening, and gave me a list of Whigs and Democrats who voted for and against rescinding the twenty-fifth rule.

6th. Mr. Robert Owen came again this morning, and mesmerized me for the space of an hour and a half with his lunacies about a new organization of society under the auspices of the two most powerful nations on the face of the globe—Great Britain on the Eastern and the United States on the Western Hemisphere. The materials, he says, are abundant, and the arrangements are all of simple and easy execution. He has prepared a plan in which all the details are set forth with the minutest accuracy. It is now in the hands of Mr. Pakenham, but he will ask him to return it, and will communicate it to me for my examination. It is a plan for universal education, for which the Smithsonian Fund may provide the means without interfering at all with my views. After the establishment of the system, there will be no war, and no such thing as poverty. Universal competency will be the lot of all mankind, and want will be unknown.

All this I had heard twenty-five years ago, and the humbug is too stale. His last departure from this country, he says, was in 1830, when, by his agency, General Jackson and Mr. Van Buren settled all the differences between this country and Great Britain. Since then he has been negotiating in Mexico, in Austria and Russia, and has been working five hours a day upon his great plan, which he has now brought to maturity.

I asked him if he was acquainted with the Fourier plan of a community. He said yes, and personally with the man; he was no more than a clerk in a merchant's counting-house, ingenious and fanciful, without experience of the world or knowledge of mankind.

Dr. Mayo was here, and told me that *he* meant to answer Andrew Jackson's indirect attack upon him about the letter to Fulton in his imploring letter to Blair, the editor of the Globe. Mayo had not seen my reply to Jackson's letter to Armstrong in the North Bridgewater address. I gave him a copy of the Boston Courier containing it. He said that Jackson was the greatest liar that this country had ever produced,

and that the committee on the Fulton claim had proved it upon him.

7th. Mr. Patterson, member of the House from Rochester, New York, called, and urged me very earnestly to come out with a severe declaration in the House against the Liberty-party abolitionists. I distrust very much the advice of Mr. Patterson. I told him I thought the Liberty party had taken the most effectual means to demolish themselves, and, as they had repelled and denounced me, it would have an appearance of private and personal resentment if I should retort upon them; they had done all the mischief in their power; it is irreparable. There may be an occasion upon which I may without impropriety express my opinion of them; but I shall not seek it.

Among the letters that I received yesterday was one from New York, dated 4th December, the writer of which says that, conversing a few days since with Governor Poindexter at the Galt House in Louisville, he (Poindexter) said, the morning when Jackson had the interview with me concerning the Florida Treaty, he had been at Poindexter's room, and, on leaving it, said that it was to fulfil an engagement to meet me and Mr. Monroe on that subject. But it was to meet me, and not Mr. Monroe; and this is an anonymous letter.

9th. At the House, Mr. Tustin opened the day with a short, studied prayer. On the reading of the journal, the standing committees were announced. The Speaker has again appointed me Chairman of the Committee of Manufactures. Thomasson came and told me that he and another anti-Texas member of the Committee of Foreign Affairs at the last session had been removed, and that the committee now are Texas. The reading of the journal was no sooner finished than Hammett, of Mississippi, began to move a resolution for referring to a select committee so much of the President's message as relates to Texas. Dromgoole told him that he had a series of resolutions ready, to distribute to the several standing committees the various topics of the message, for which purpose he should move to go into committee of the whole on the state of the Union. Cave Johnson in the chair.

Dromgoole presented ten resolutions, distributing the message to as many standing committees. Only one question was taken upon the whole series of resolutions, and they were adopted in a lump. Dromgoole then moved that the committee should rise and report; which was done, and the report was adopted without a word of debate. But, before passing Dromgoole's resolutions, the committee of the whole on the state of the Union had taken up Duncan's bill for holding the election of the Presidential Electors on one and the same day throughout the Union. This gave rise to a dull and tedious debate, chiefly raised by Elmer, Chairman of the Committee of Elections, of which the committee soon got tired, and laid the bill aside.

This evening Mr. Samuel Hoar called on me, and told me the particulars of his expulsion by mob violence from Charleston, South Carolina, where he had been sent as a commissioner to protect the personal rights of colored citizens of Massachusetts imprisoned under a slave law of the State. He barely escaped with life and limb. I approved the whole of his conduct, and advised him to see the other members of the delegation from Massachusetts before proceeding home.

10th. Mr. Robert Owen brought me this morning a small bound printed book, by himself, a second edition, London, 1841, entitled A Development of the Principles and Plans on which to establish Self-Supporting Home Colonies. He left it with me, and said he would call for it again to-morrow.

From the cursory glance at its contents which is all that I can bestow, I find it a new edition of his old exploded projects.

At the House, Giddings asked the Speaker what was the regular business of the day; and he answered, the call of the States for petitions. Giddings then called for the order of business, and the Speaker announced petitions in order from the State of Maine. There were none from Maine. One or two from New Hampshire. The call came at once upon Massachusetts. I had only three petitions to present: 1. From John P. Andrews, of Salem, for the promotion of universal peace; referred to the Committee of Foreign Affairs. 2. From Edward Jarvis and J. Wingate Thornton, committee of the

American Statistical Association—a memorial concerning the errors in the census of 1840. I moved its reference to the Committee of Statistics of the last session, if it still existed, and that it should be printed. The Speaker said that was a select committee only for the session, and did not now exist. I then moved the reference to a select committee of nine; which was adopted, but objection was made to the printing. Preston King called for its being read. The Clerk read about five minutes, till they tired and dispensed with the further reading. A motion was made to lay the motion to print on the table; carried—one hundred and one to seventy-nine.

3. Petition from A. B. Kingsland, and four other residents of the city of New York, for the abolition of slavery in the District of Columbia. I moved its reference to the Committee on the District. Black, of Georgia, objected to its reception. Brown, of Indiana, moved to lay the objection on the table; lost, by yeas and nays—ninety to ninety-nine. Question on the reception of the petition—one hundred and seven to eighty-one. Tibbetts moved to lay the petition on the table; lost—eighty-eight to ninety-nine—and it was referred to the Committee on the District. Much matter for reflection on these proceedings. The call for petitions proceeded, till they came to Ohio; and when Giddings rose, a motion to adjourn was made and carried.

11th. Mr. Owen came again this morning for his book. I told him I had cursorily looked over as much of it as my time would allow; and that I had not been able to bring my mind to the approbation of his plan. He went over the same preamble that I had heard from him twenty-seven years ago in London, which he had afterwards crowded upon me year after year here, when I was Secretary of State, and President, and from which I have hoped, for the last fifteen years, that this country was forever delivered. He said he wanted his book now, but he would send it to me again to be examined and studied at my leisure; for it required profound study to understand it. It was to change the basis of human society, to put every individual of the human race in the proper place to

promote his own happiness; and needed only to be put into operation to accomplish its purpose.

At the House, Douglas, of Illinois, gave notice that he would, at an early day, move for leave to introduce a bill to establish a new Territory with a strange name. Houston, of Alabama, moved to suspend the rules to go into committee of the whole on the state of the Union to take up the bill No. 2, reported at the last session, from the Committee on the Territories. Duncan insisted upon the preference to his bill for holding the election of Presidential Electors throughout the Union on one and the same day. Houston yielded the precedence.

The House went into committee of the whole on the state of the Union, and first took up Duncan's bill. Elmer and Hannibal Hamlin still nibbled at the bill, till Duncan proposed an entire substitute for his bill, accommodated to their projected amendments. It was adopted by the committee, and laid aside to be reported to the House; but Dromgoole was still dissatisfied, and offered another entire substitute of his own; which the Speaker decided came too late, but said it might be offered in the House.

Houston's bill for reducing and graduating the price of the public lands was then taken up. It proposes to authorize the sale of all the public lands which have been five years upon sale, for one dollar an acre; all that have been ten years upon sale, for seventy-five cents; all that have been fifteen years in the market, for fifty cents; and all that have been twenty years on hand, for twenty-five cents an acre. This bill was supported by Houston, by Sample, and John W. Davis, of Indiana; and opposed by Collamer, of Vermont, and by Vinton, of Ohio. It will break up the whole system of the sales of the public lands, and will give them away.

12th. Much of this morning was consumed in a fruitless search for the pamphlet statement of the proceedings in the United States Courts in the case of the Amistad negroes. There are numerous documents relating to that case essentially necessary, to oppose a bill and report from the Committee of Foreign Affairs at the last session of Congress, but which I have not now at hand.

At the House, Douglas, of Illinois, gave notice of a motion for the purchase of certain copies of Greenhow's History of Oregon, California, etc. The name of the new Territory which he proposes to establish is Nebraska. Levy, the delegate from Florida, obtained an order to print five thousand copies of the Constitution of Florida reported in 1839.

The call for petitions was resumed. Giddings presented successively seven abolition petitions, memorials, and resolutions, and objection was made to the reception of them all. Rhett, of South Carolina, enquired if the question of reception was debatable. The Speaker answered that it was; whereupon Rhett said he wished to debate it. They were all laid over accordingly one day for debate, except a memorial from Ashtabula County for the abolition of the slave-representation; which was laid on the table, by yeas and nays—one hundred and thirty-five to fifty-one.

Augustus C. Dodge, delegate from the Territory of Iowa, presented a memorial asking admission into the Union, and a copy of their Constitution, which, after some discussion, was referred to the Committee on the Territories. The committees were called for reports, but the only one presented was by Charles J. Ingersoll, Chairman of the Committee of Foreign Affairs—a joint resolution for the annexation of Texas to the United States, in exactly the same words with a joint resolution presented two or three days since to the Senate, by George McDuffie, of South Carolina. The resolution was read twice, referred to the committee of the whole on the state of the Union, and Ingersoll gave notice that he should call it up for consideration on Monday, the 25th of this month. The annexation is to be a complete ratification of the treaty signed on the 12th of April last and rejected by the Senate.

Ingersoll moved also the printing of five thousand copies of the map of Texas; which was agreed to. Winthrop, who is a member of the Committee of Foreign Affairs, gave notice that the report of the committee was not unanimous, that no discussion of it had been allowed in the committee, and that all he could do was to protest against it as unconstitutional in form and substance and tending directly to the dissolution of the Union.

13th. At the House, the select committee on the memorial of the American Statistical Association, concerning the errors in the census of 1840, was announced—John Quincy Adams, of Massachusetts, Robert Barnwell Rhett, of South Carolina, Kenneth Rayner, of North Carolina, William H. Stiles, of Georgia, William B. Maclay, of New York, Francis Brengle, of Maryland, Shepard Cary, of Maine, Caleb B. Smith, of Indiana, and Henry A. Foster, of New York. The Speaker laid before the House sundry communications from the President and the Executive Departments, and with them a set of condoling resolutions of the corporation of the city of New Orleans upon the catastrophe on board the steamer Princeton. They reminded me of the deputation from Troy to Tiberius, to condole with him on the death of his son, many months after the event, which he answered by condoling with them for the death of Hector.

Dr. Duncan called up his bill for holding the election of Electors of President and Vice-President on one and the same day throughout the Union. Dromgoole, and Campbell of South Carolina, and Rhett annoyed him with amendments, till he tried, but failed, to carry the previous question. Adjourned over to Monday.

15th. About sunrise this morning, the Globe of last evening was brought to me, containing the address of Aaron V. Brown "to the public at large, and to the constituents of the Hon. John Quincy Adams in particular." This is the third of the gang of conspirators who opened their batteries on me in the Globe of the 20th of March last, and whom I exposed in my addresses at Boston, Braintree, and North Bridgewater. The lion and his two jackals are now out. The first tool of Jackson, George W. Erving, is yet to be heard from. I must reply at leisure to them all. But the whole tissue of falsehood of Jackson's Erving treaty is abandoned, without an attempt to support it.

16th. This day a grate for burning Lehigh coal was put up in my writing-chamber, instead of the open hearth and chimney corner in which for the last six winters I have been in the practice of burning wood. Few persons can imagine how

gravely the comfort of my life is affected by this trivial incident of mere personal habitude. Seven months of the year, from the 1st of October to the last of April, I can write only by the side of a fire. For as long a time I need the convenience of a morning and evening lamp—from six to eight hours every day. These are the hours of labor for the day—the hours of solitude and toil. I must light my fire and my lamp every morning; and my capacity to write depends upon the temperature of the atmosphere operating upon my sense of feeling. The experiment of the coal fire is now again to be tried; heretofore it has not suited me as well as wood.

At the House, the first business was the question upon the engrossment of Duncan's bill for holding the election of Electors of President and Vice-President of the United States on one and the same day throughout the Union. Duncan demanded the yeas and nays, and they were taken—one hundred and eighty-seven aye and one nay—Woodward, of South Carolina. James A. Black, only, of the South Carolina delegation, voted for the bill. Burt, Campbell, Holmes, and Rhett did not vote. The bill was then passed without an opposing vote.

Burke, of New Hampshire, moved a suspension of the rules for a motion to print ten thousand copies of the majority and minority reports on the Rhode Island Insurrection memorial; yeas, one hundred and three; nays, eighty-seven; motion lost.

Weller asked leave to introduce a bill to extend the right of suffrage in the city of Washington.

Campbell objected, that there was a bill before the House, reported by the Committee on the District, containing the same provision. Weller moved and carried a suspension of the rules—sixty-two to one hundred and twenty-four. Weller introduced his bill, and pressed for its immediate passage; but objections were started in his own gang, and the bill was referred to the Committee on the District.

Duncan moved and carried a suspension of the rules to introduce a bill for establishing the Territory of Oregon, and other purposes; which was referred to the Committee on the Territories. The annual reports of the Secretary of the Treasury on the finances, with the estimates, and of the Commis-

sioner of the General Land Office, were presented to the House. Phœnix moved to go into committee of the whole on the state of the Union to take up the Warehouse bill, but could not get a quorum to vote. Adjourned before three.

17th. At the House, after notices given by several members of their intention to ask leave to-morrow or some subsequent day to bring in sundry bills, Mr. Vinton moved a suspension of the rules to call the States for resolutions; which was carried, and a budget of crudities of every sort and description issued forth, as always happens on resolution-day.

The first move was by Hannibal Hamlin, of Maine, to print ten thousand copies of the majority and minority reports on the Rhode Island memorials. Objection being made, the resolution, of course, went over one day; but Hamlin enquired if he could now cut off debate when the resolution shall come up in order. The Speaker said he could by now moving the previous question—which he did.

Winthrop objected to this, and I asked the Speaker to reconsider his decision, observing that the form of the previous question was, Shall the main question *now* be put? and it could not be in order when a positive rule of the House forbade the taking of the question *now*.

The Speaker said no debate was in order now; but that, although the form of the previous question was, Shall the main question *now* be put? it might be moved now and postponed to another day, because without the second of a majority it could not be put at all.

Cranston entreated of Hamlin, as a personal favor, to withdraw his motion for the previous question; but he would not.

Charles J. Ingersoll moved a resolution that the Tariff Act of 1842 should be modified so far as respects foreign wines, where it conflicts with treaties or is otherwise objectionable; also that a nominal duty be imposed on all free articles for the precise ascertainment of them.

Black, of Georgia, moved to strike out "nominal" and insert "revenue"—which produced shouts of laughter. Ingersoll was advised to change his motion into an enquiry of expediency. This he was glad to do, and in that form his motion passed.

Dromgoole produced a letter from Mrs. Madison, offering to Congress the remainder of her husband's manuscripts not heretofore purchased, and moved a resolution authorizing the Library Committee to contract for purchasing and printing them. Adopted.

18th. I had summoned a meeting of the Committee of Manufactures to meet in their chamber this morning at eleven o'clock. By a most vexatious incident, the clock in my writing-chamber ran down and stopped just at that time, so that I was belated in reaching the Capitol by half an hour. I found every member of the committee present in the chamber when I arrived, and apologized to them for my tardiness. I then said I had called them together merely to organize the committee, to tell them I had nothing to lay before them, and to take their commands. If any other member of the committee had anything to propose, they would now receive his communication. The word "manufactures" was not in the President's message, and there was nothing referred to the committee by the House. I proposed, therefore, to record a minute of the meeting and adjourn without day, to be called again if any reference should be made by the House or any member should desire it; which was forthwith unanimously agreed to.

I went down to my seat in the House. A page named Cox came and said, a few minutes before the House was called to order, that Mr. Sangster wished to speak with me at the door. I went to the door at the side, then to the central door, but no one accosted me. I turned back, and some one said, "The man is in the lobby." A man came up to me and said, "You are wrong, you are wrong, and I will kick you." He then passed his right hand before my face, and drew it back to strike me. I seized his two arms with my two hands, and held them till the bystanders came up and took charge of him. I returned to my seat. They afterwards arrested the man. A magistrate came and, in the Speaker's room, sent for me, took my affidavit of the assault, and committed Sangster to answer for it. Mr. Holmes, of Charleston, and Mr. Chilton were present. I have no room for the proceedings in the House.

19th. There was no room left on my page of yesterday to

notice the proceedings of the House. They consisted of little more than two speeches, both in form, against Phœnix's bill to repeal the duties on railroad iron, but directly opposite to each other in principle—one from Henry D. Foster, hot for a protective tariff, and one from W. W. Payne, of Alabama, red-hot against the protective tariff, and foaming for a horizontal duty of twenty per cent. Hammett, of Mississippi, saw they were coming to slippery Democratic ground, and moved to lay the whole subject on the table, which was carried by yeas and nays —one hundred and fifty-five to forty.

I said I was willing to lay the bill on the table, if Burt's bill to repeal the duty on cotton bagging and gunny-cloth should go on the table also. But Houston said, no more bargains, and the Speaker said there must be no debate on a motion to lay on the table.

Burt's bill had been twice read, and referred to a committee, without a word of opposition or remark.

Weller gave notice that he would this day offer a joint resolution for the annexation of Texas to the United States; and this day he did introduce it. Twice read, and he moved its reference to the committee of the whole on the state of the Union.

E. S. Hamlin, of Ohio, moved its reference to a committee of one member from each State, with instructions to report upon five questions. The question of commitment to the committee of the whole on the state of the Union was taken by yeas and nays, and carried—one hundred and nine to sixty.

Pollock gave notice of his intention to ask leave to introduce a bill or resolution to submit the question of the annexation of Texas to the people.

A message was received from the President, with the brawling correspondence between Calhoun, Shannon, and the Mexican Minister of Foreign Affairs, Manuel Cresencio Rejon. The message rails at the Mexican Government with the temper of a common scold, and concludes by saying that, although we should be fully justified in declaring war against them, he will not recommend that; but only that we should take Texas, and then, if Mexico makes war upon us, all the responsibility of it

shall rest upon her. The message was referred to the Committee of Foreign Affairs.

20th. I read this morning the whole correspondence communicated yesterday with the message of the President, and see the subjugation of the Union to the double slave-representation with deplorable certainty of proof. John C. Calhoun and South Carolina are in the ascendant, and an internal convulsion in Mexico happens this moment, as if by interposition of the evil principle, to help him to consummate his abominable purpose. The prospect is death-like. I found the House in session. Joseph Vance, Chairman of the Committee of Claims, was calling for the orders of the day—private business. Hardin wanted to get up the Post-Office bill. Dromgoole and Charles J. Ingersoll wanted to suspend the rules for notices of bills, and Aaron V. Brown for reports of committees. After two or three votes without a quorum, Dromgoole got the House into committee of the whole on the state of the Union, Cave Johnson in the chair. The bill for graduating the price of the public lands was the unfinished business, and Robert A. Smith, of Illinois, had the floor from yesterday. Dromgoole moved to postpone it, and said there were certain modifications of it about which its friends were in treaty with one another. To this postponement Robert Smith consented, and Dromgoole moved to take up the Sub-Treasury bill, reported by him from the Committee of Ways and Means at the last session. It was taken up without opposition, and, after two or three sections of it had been read by the Clerk, the further reading of it through was dispensed with, and it was read by sections. The Clerk had read through the first section, and begun upon the second, when, seeing it was going to pass without a sign of life from the opposition, I rose, and enquired if the first section of the bill, constituting certain vaults in the Treasury building the Treasury of the United States, was the same as in the old Sub-Treasury repealed law. It was. I moved to strike out the first section of the bill. The Chairman pronounced it not in order, and the question upon it was not suffered to be put. I gave my reasons, however, in substance, that it annulled the proviso in the Constitution, that no money shall be drawn

from the Treasury but in consequence of appropriations made by law. This started a debate, which continued till half-past four, when the committee rose, and the House adjourned.

In the evening I delivered my lecture on Society and Civilization, at the new Baptist Church.

21st. This morning Mr. Connell called upon me in high spirits, his bill for the relief of the heirs of Robert Fulton having again passed the Senate. One of the principal obstacles to the passage of this bill hitherto has been the false denial by Andrew Jackson of his own military order for the employment of a steamboat of Fulton's in the public service. The order, under his own hand, has been produced; but he has not retracted his denial. Mr. Connell entreated me not to notice this exemplification of Jackson's memory when the bill shall be before the House.

The business this day in the House was Dromgoole's Sub-Treasury bill. He had moved last evening a resolution to report it to the House in thirty minutes after it should next be taken up in committee of the whole; but the House adjourned without taking the question upon that motion. This morning he modified it so as to allow two hours instead of thirty minutes for debate. This was carried. The House went into committee of the whole, Cave Johnson in the chair, and the two hours were occupied by Henley, of Indiana, and others of the Democracy, in vilifying the Whigs and Henry Clay. Not a Whig was suffered to get the floor, and Cave, the Chairman, gave it, in flagrant partiality, to Henley, in competition with Clingman, of North Carolina. Shepard Cary, a new member from Maine, took the floor five minutes before the time fixed for reporting, and opened a flood of stench and filth upon the Whigs. He was interrupted by the report to the House, which the Speaker had no sooner announced than he started up and continued his speech begun in committee. Mr. Barnard objected to this, as violating the rule that no allusion shall be made in the House to what has passed in committee; but the Speaker sustained the maniac. But his own party soon got weary of him. One moved the committee to rise, another moved the previous question; and he gave up. I moved again

to strike out the first section. The Speaker said it was not in order. The question of engrossment was carried, by yeas and nays—one hundred and twenty-nine to sixty-nine; the question on its passage—one hundred and twenty-three to sixty-eight; close party votes.

22d. The speakers in the debate of yesterday, besides those mentioned on the other page, were Washington Hunt, of the Thirty-Fourth New York District—Orleans and Niagara District—resident at Lockport, a present Whig, T. H. Bayly, the successor of Wise, and W. W. Payne, of Alabama. Hunt alluded to the Democratic nomination, at Saginaw, for the Legislature of Michigan, of Birney, the Liberty candidate for the Presidency; which operated like a spark upon a barrel of gunpowder. The scene was ludicrous.

23d. In my conversation yesterday with Mr. Gouverneur, he told me that, while never doubting of the moral obligation resting on him to inform me of the letter from Andrew Jackson to President Monroe, extracts from which he gave me, he had been somewhat embarrassed as to the properest manner for him to proceed in the case. The partisans of Jackson would certainly assail him as in confederacy with me, and would bring against him the charge of betraying the confidence of private correspondence; and Jackson might deny his own letters, and charge him with forgery, as he had charged me with forging my own diary. He said he had consulted General Scott, and other friends, in this emergency, by whose advice he had drawn up a paper which he proposed to publish in the National Intelligencer, signed "G.," which he read to me; upon which he would be glad to have my advice, and after which I might make such use of the extracts from Jackson's letters, and other information received from him, as I think proper. He told me, further, that General Scott had assured him there were two officers of the army now in this city who were here in February, 1819, and then knowing to my consultation with Jackson about the Florida Treaty; but that he was not permitted to divulge their names.

This day, at a quarter-past twelve, I found the House in session, and the Speaker calling the committees for reports.

This was the day upon which Charles J. Ingersoll had given notice that he would call up for consideration in committee of the whole on the state of the Union the joint resolution reported by him from the Committee of Foreign Affairs, for the annexation of Texas to the United States, according to the treaty of 12th April last, rejected by the Senate. But he only moved a resolution to print ten thousand copies of the map of Texas at a cost not exceeding twelve cents a copy, instead of his former resolution for five thousand copies at not exceeding seven cents a copy.

But Stephen A. Douglas, of Illinois, introduced another joint resolution for the re-annexation of Texas to the United States, according to the Louisiana Treaty of 1803.

Aaron V. Brown reported from the Committee on the Territories the bill for the establishment of the Territory of Oregon. The resolutions and notices of bills and resolutions were numberless. Charles J. Ingersoll presented, by special request, a petition for the abolition of slavery, and the application of all the proceeds of the sales of the public lands to indemnify the owners of the slaves for the loss of them as property. He moved reference to a committee; but the House laid the petition on the table, by yeas and nays—one hundred and seventeen to forty-nine. After a hard struggle to keep down the call for the yeas and nays, the House adjourned over to Thursday.

24th. I passed into the War Department, and had a long conversation with General Scott, now commander-in-chief of the army. He commenced it by observing that he had read the article in the National Intelligencer of this morning, signed "G."; being that which Mr. Gouverneur read to me the day before yesterday. He said that behind that article there was a great mass of evidence, which he had seen; that there were now in this city two persons who were in General Jackson's apartment in February, 1819, when I went there to consult him on the subject of the Florida Treaty; that they had recently each communicated the fact to the other, and to him; they perfectly agreed in their recollection; but they had laid him under an injunction of honor not to disclose their names.

I said that I should probably, in the course of next spring or summer, address my constituents again upon this subject, and I asked if I might state this fact as he had stated it to me, without naming the persons, but vouching him for the fact. He said I might; that it was due to historical truth; and he deemed it the duty of every man to bear testimony to historical truth, especially when the character of another was implicated in the fact. Mr. Gouverneur had told me that these two persons were officers in the army. I said to Scott that if officers of the army, bound by the laws of honor, thought they could withhold their names from testimony of facts known to them, I would not insist upon their names.

He said, "I do not say they are officers of the army."

I asked him to call at my house, and said I would show him the volume of my diary for 1819.

He said he would.

Mr. Frye was here this evening, and said a young man by the name of Sangster, a nephew of the man now in prison for assaulting me, had been to him and General Towson to obtain his release from prison by discharging so much of the justice's warrant as required bonds for keeping the peace. I said I was, so far as concerned myself, perfectly willing to release him if any security would be given by himself or his friends that he would keep the peace with me and with all others.

Christmas, 25th.—I can give no reason satisfactory to myself for having neglected attending upon the religious public services of this day. Never in my life have I more needed faith and hope in the promises of the gospel for relief from anxieties from sources public and private; never more fervent prayer for direction from above to lead me in the short remnant of the path before me. I have wasted the day, without being aware of my remissness till the day was gone. To the church of which I am a member there are no religious holidays, save the Christian Sabbath; but personally I sympathize with those who solemnize the two anniversaries Christmas and Easter—the birth and the resurrection of Jesus.

Mr. Frye was here again this evening, with a written statement of what had passed between him and me last evening

about the release of Thomas Sangster from prison, and with a letter from him to me. Mr. Thompson, the magistrate who committed him, admitted him last evening to bail, upon a certificate of a physician that he had examined him and found him of sane mind, and upon laying his nephew under bond of a thousand dollars for his appearance at Court next week, and keeping, in the mean time, the peace. His letter to me is respectful and apologetic, expressing great regret at his assault, attributing it to sudden and uncontrollable passion.

28th. Mr. Giddings was here this morning, and suggested to me the expediency of an address to the people, before or about the close of the present session of Congress, by the members opposed to the annexation of Texas; following up that which was issued at the close of the Twenty-Seventh Congress.

I told him I thought it would be highly advisable, if the deed should not be perpetrated at the present session.

He thinks there is no danger of the passage of that measure, even in the House of Representatives, at this session. I fear he does not sufficiently weigh the despotism of the party drill. He says there are forty members of the majority who will vote against every plan of annexation. I dread the effect of the revolution now raging in Mexico. I agreed with Mr. Giddings to speak further with him on this subject.

30th. Mr. Owen came this morning, and brought me again the book which he had lent me before. I had wasted a long hour in reading his manifesto, which he gave me yesterday —a farrago of confused, indefinite ideas, the only clear and distinct proposition in which is the formation of a community in or near Washington, to revolutionize the world, from a world of wretchedness and bad principles, to a world of wealth ad libitum, of peace, of plenty, and of love, without religion; to begin which considerable funds will be required, and an appropriation of not less than three millions of dollars.

He borrowed, in return, my lecture upon Society and Civilization, which he said he regretted not having heard; but which, being at precisely the opposite pole from his system, he will estimate, if he reads it, much as I do his manifesto.

The Sheriff of the county had notified me to attend this

morning, between ten and twelve o'clock, the Grand Jury of the Criminal Court at the City Hall. I went, accordingly, at half-past ten. The Court was in session, and they were about to swear in the Grand Jury. Nineteen men were accordingly sworn, and the Judge (Dunlop) made them a very brief charge, in a tone of voice so low that I heard scarcely a word that he said. They then retired to their chamber. I was sworn as a witness by the Clerk of the Court, William Brent, and the Grand Jury immediately afterwards sent for me to their room. I went, and related the circumstances of Thomas Sangster's assault upon me; and, having stated the facts, I said I was aware that it was not in my power to remit the breach of the peace, but I might without impropriety say that, so far as personally concerned myself, I should be glad to see Mr. Sangster discharged without further prosecution; that he had not struck me, nor had I suffered the slightest injury from him. I knew not what was the occasion of his movement against me, but I had received a letter from him apologizing for it, expressing great regret at what he had done, and assuring me that it was from a sudden impulse of passion, under influences which he could not control. From that moment all resentment had vanished from my mind. The letter was in the style and language of a gentleman. I understood he had been an officer in the army, and had faithfully served his country. I should therefore deeply regret if he should be severely dealt with for his mere attempt upon me.

31st. The closing day of every year is the special season for retrospection, for thanksgiving, for self-examination, for repentance. It bears every year with increasing gravity upon the conscience, and, at the stage of life which I have attained, every year with more irresistible demonstration of the decay of body and mind. I am sinking under them; yet I struggle to keep my head above the surface of the flood. My last night's repose was disturbed; I know not from what cause. I rose between three and four with an aching head, and returned for two more hours of waking dreams.

Mr. Daniel R. Tilden, a member of the House of Representatives from Ohio, brought me, some days since, a small

album, with a note, saying that he had purchased it for his little daughter Sarah, and requesting me to write something in it. These requests thicken upon me, greatly to my annoyance; and the time they consume, and the impotence of mind which they disclose, is a continual source of self-reproach and mortification. A sonnet for Miss Tilden's album occupied the morning.

At the House, John W. Tibbatts asked leave to introduce a bill to authorize the people of Texas to form a State constitution of government, and for the admission of the State into the Union; and a joint resolution pledging the protection of the United States to the people of Texas till the question of re-annexation shall be settled. Barnard objected to the introduction of these measures without a previous notice; whereupon Tibbatts turned his motion into a notice for to-morrow, or some subsequent day. James E. Belser, of Alabama, gave notice of his intention to move a joint resolution for the annexation of Texas to the United States.

WASHINGTON, *January* 1st, 1845.—The Whig members of the Massachusetts delegation in the House of Representatives had agreed to meet at my house this morning at ten o'clock, before the crowd of visitors should be coming, to consult together upon what we shall do in the critical state of public affairs, and whether any joint action on our part may be advisable. Six of them came, all of the right complexion except Daniel P. King, and we had some desultory conversation, without coming to any satisfactory result. We were soon interrupted by the entrance of other visitors, a stream of whom came and went for the space of three hours. The weather betokened May rather than January, and all the world was abroad. Great numbers of members of both Houses of Congress were here, and among them several of the bitterest political opponents that I have in the world. The personal hatred of the Southern slave-holders against me is evidently much envenomed by the extinction of the petition gag-rule, and my position as the head of the anti-slavery movement in this country, disavowed by the whole body of abolitionists, and bound hand

and foot and chained to a rock as I am, by the slave-monger brood linked together with the mongrel Democracy of the North and West.

When the throng had passed away, about three o'clock, I walked out, and paid a visit to Mrs. Madison. I found there Mrs. Dickinson, of Troy, and two or three others. In the evening I had a visit from Commodore Jesse D. Elliott, who gave me a bronze medal which he has had struck in honor of J. Fenimore Cooper for his vindication of the Commodore's character in his Naval History of the United States. He related to me the circumstances which induced him to have this medal struck, and the distribution which he proposed to make of it. He related to me also his pilgrimage to the Holy Land, and mentioned to me many of the curiosities which he collected there, and of which he has made a donation to the Girard College.

2d. I received this morning a letter from Commodore Elliott, with one of his medals, and a direction, "For Henry Clay, from his old friend J. D. Elliott," which he requests me to forward to Mr. Clay. He also requests me to furnish him with a list of all the Historical Societies to which I had suggested to him the idea of his sending a medal each, and that I would forward the medals to them, and one to the representative of my brother as an heir-loom. I saw him afterwards at the House, without the bar, and promised to perform his requests. He was to leave the city this afternoon to return to Philadelphia, where he is stationed in command of the navy-yard.

My opinions and feelings have been, ever since the duel between Barron and Decatur, very unfavorable to Commodore Elliott; but I have not tried him as a judge or juror, and I could not justify to myself a repulse of the courtesy and personal respect which he now manifested to me, in the midst especially of that league of villainy and power combined against me and plotting the destruction of my life and my good name.

In the House, Tibbatts, of Kentucky, asked leave to introduce a bill to authorize the people of Texas to form a State constitution of government, and for their admission into the

Union as one of the original States; and a joint resolution pledging the protection of the United States against all foreign interposition in the interval. But the House refused to suspend the rules to let them in.

The Rhode Island question then came up, and first Burke's motion to print ten thousand copies of the majority and minority reports of the committee on the Rhode Island memorial, instead of five thousand copies of the majority report alone, which he had first moved. Burt, of South Carolina, moved to lay the resolution on the table; lost, by yeas and nays—seventy-eight to one hundred. Burke moved the previous question on his resolution, but he could not obtain a majority to second him. He then modified his resolution back to the original number of five thousand, and moved again and carried the previous question. The vote for printing five thousand copies was carried—one hundred and two to eighty—and then the Speaker announced (that) the resolutions with which the majority report concluded were the subject under consideration of the House. The resolutions are seven in number, rabid with mock Democracy. L. Q. C. Elmer commenced a speech against them, but was arrested at the expiration of the morning hour. The rest of the day there was snarling upon the Land bill.

3d. The debate on the Land robbery bill yesterday had become so vapid that, while Thomas Smith, of Indiana, was hammering out his hour upon it, I went into the Senate and heard a debate on another Land pilfering bill, quite as dull as that I had escaped from in the House. I met there Mr. Calderon de la Barca, the Spanish Minister, who asked me when I proposed to publish my translation of Wieland's Oberon.

I told him I did not intend it should ever be published; I had made it as a school-exercise in learning German, and, though far more literal, it could bear no poetical comparison with Sotheby's translation, which had cured me of all temptation to publish mine.

He said his reason for asking me the question was that he had made a Spanish translation of the Oberon, much as I had

made mine in my daily walks about the streets and out of the gates of Berlin. He did not like Sotheby's translation, for two reasons: first, because he had changed the form of the stanza from the light, airy ottava rima, for the heavy, cumbersome ten lines closing with an Alexandrine, thereby changing entirely the character of the poem; and, secondly, because he had omitted the sprightly tale of January and May.

How Mr. Calderon came to know anything about my translation of Oberon I know not, and did not enquire. I suppose it was from Alexander H. Everett.

At the House, this day, immediately after the reading of the journal, Charles J. Ingersoll moved a suspension of the rules to go into committee of the whole on the state of the Union, to take up the joint resolution reported by the Committee of Foreign Affairs for the annexation of Texas to the United States, according to the treaty of 12th April last rejected by the Senate. This was carried by yeas and nays—one hundred and seven to sixty-three. George W. Hopkins was Chairman of the committee, and the joint resolution was taken up. Weller then moved his project of annexation, as an amendment to the resolution reported by the committee, and Douglas moved his project as an amendment to the amendment. The first question was thus upon Douglas's project; but C. J. Ingersoll made his hour speech on the bare question of annexation. He scarcely glanced at the questions of right and of constitutional power, but very positively affirmed that the annexation of Texas would not produce a rupture either with Mexico or with England. Belser, of Alabama, followed with an hour speech.

4th. I dispatched this morning Commodore Elliott's medal to Mr. Henry Clay, with a letter by the mail; and I received from Commodore Elliott another note, requesting my opinion and advice whether he might without impropriety present a copy of his medal to each of the foreign Ministers residing here. I called on him at Fuller's Hotel, and said to him that I did not see any objection to his presenting a bronze medal to each of the foreign Ministers, though there might be some objection to his receiving presents from them in return.

He then told me of the presents that he had made to the Sultan of Muscat and the son of the Bey of Egypt, and their return presents, which he had transmitted to the Department of State.

They told me at Fuller's that Mr. Caleb Cushing had arrived there this morning, returned from his mission to China, in which he succeeded to negotiate an advantageous treaty.

At the House, I found them taking the yeas and nays on a motion made by McClernand, of Illinois, to lay on the table a memorial from certain Quakers of the city of New York, presented by Mr. Phœnix. The vote to lay on the table was carried by the casting vote of the Speaker—eighty-seven to eighty-seven. Chapman had previously made a long personal explanation about a complaint he had made against an article in the National Intelligencer last August, charging the State of Alabama with repudiating her debts.

Bayly moved to go into committee of the whole on the state of the Union to take up the resolutions for the annexation of Texas; which was done.

Douglas wanted to speak upon his own amendment, but, not having his papers with him, was not ready; he moved the committee to rise, but they refused.

Rhett advised him to withdraw his preamble and let the debate proceed on his first resolution, which was the simple proposition that Texas should be annexed to the United States. Douglas assented.

Joseph R. Ingersoll made an hour speech against annexation, and W. W. Payne a furious one in favor of it. Winthrop then took the floor, the committee rose, and the House adjourned. C. H. Upton invited me to a lecture by him this evening against the annexation of Texas, but I missed it. General Parker was here this evening. I supped with the Typographical Society.

5th. Public worship in the hall of the House of Representatives. The prayer, the singing, and the reading of a chapter were performed by Mr. Tustin, the Chaplain of the Senate. The sermon was preached by Dr. Stephen Olin, the President of the Wesleyan University at Middletown, Connecticut. His text was John xiv. 1: "Let not your heart be troubled: ye

believe in God, believe also in me." Dr. Olin is a man upwards of six feet tall, framed for a ploughman or a wood-cutter; with an anxious, deeply thoughtful, not unpleasing countenance, sprawling limbs, and great awkwardness of gesticulation. But he preaches without notes, with uninterrupted fluency, plain but very appropriate language, close argument, well-chosen and at times elegant elocution. After some verbal criticism upon the two moods in the application of the verb "believe," the doctrine that he derived from the text was, that Jesus Christ, assuming as a fact that the disciples to whom He spoke believed in God, warned them that this belief was of itself not sufficient to satisfy the wants of their nature; that belief in God was taught by the visible creation; but the belief in God is a barren and profitless creed, unless subsidiary to it is the belief of a responsible hereafter to the existence of man; and to this the belief in Christ is indispensable.

This appears to me a very ingenious exposition of the text, and the developments of the argument were all consistent with it, judiciously selected and happily combined. The House was crowded, and the auditory chained in attention for an hour and a quarter.

After the service, I returned the visit received on Friday from Mr. Thomas Hart Benton, Senator from Missouri—the first in a period of twenty-five years of a common residence of him and me in this city. His wife and three daughters were there, and Lieutenant Fremont, his son-in-law.

After dinner, at St. John's Church. Mr. Pyne read the evening service for the second Sunday after Christmas, and preached from Hebrews xiii. 5: "Let your conversation be without covetousness; and be content with such things as ye have: for He hath said, I will never leave thee nor forsake thee." An exhortation to contentment.

Mr. John Mason, Junr., told me that the Grand Jury had indicted T. Sangster, and said he hoped I would not interpose to screen him from punishment.

6th. My conversation with General Parker on Saturday evening was interrupted by an engagement to attend the lecture of Mr. Upton against the annexation of Texas, which was an-

nounced for seven in the evening. It was half-past seven when I went to Concert Hall, but not a soul was there. I had another engagement at half-past eight, and walked home to meet it. I had received a written invitation from F. Jefferson, James N. Davis, and William J. Delano, a committee of invitation of the Columbia Typographical Association, to a supper on the temperance principle, in celebration of their thirtieth anniversary. I had accepted this invitation, and at half-past eight Mr. Davis and Mr. Delano came in a carriage and accompanied me to Congress Hall. The supper was plentiful, but not luxurious; the beverage, cold water, coffee, and lemonade; the company, about seventy, journeymen printers—F. Jefferson President. The invited guests, besides myself, were W. W. Seaton, Mayor of the city, Luther Severance, member of Congress from Maine, and editor of a newspaper there, and Mr. Gallagher, a member of the Senate of Virginia. The exclusion of all spirituous liquors, Mr. Jefferson said, was an experiment; and it succeeded admirably well. There was much hilarity, but no disorder nor indecency. The regular toasts were given in continual succession; the volunteers, complimentary to the invited guests, and drew a speech and a sentiment from each of them. I left them and came home shortly before midnight.

At the House, this day, after short preliminaries, the rules were suspended to go into committee of the whole on the state of the Union, Hopkins in the chair, upon the resolutions for the annexation of Texas to the United States. Robert C. Winthrop, who had taken the floor on Saturday, made an hour speech against the resolutions, and was followed by one of an equal length by Douglas in their favor. Clingman, of North Carolina, employed his hour, not in the discussion of the Texas question, but in exposing the frauds practised by the Democratic party in the recent Presidential election. When his hour expired, Yancey, a new member from Alabama, moved the committee to rise; which they did. McKay, Chairman of the Committee of Ways and Means, reported four of the General Appropriation bills—Indian, Pension, Military Academy, and Post-Office; referred.

7th. At the House, before I reached it, the Speaker had

made an explanation referring to a statement by Clingman yesterday, that the abolition reporter Joshua Leavitt had been refused a seat at the last session, and now occupied one of the best in the House; said that he had assigned no seat to Mr. Leavitt, but had merely directed that until the arrangements should be made for about thirty reporters, which took time, no one should be ejected from any seat that he should take.

I found John P. Hale offering eight resolutions of the Legislature of New Hampshire in favor of the annexation of Texas, the last of which declared their opinion that the annexation of Texas would increase instead of diminishing the number of the free States. The resolutions were read and referred to the committee of the whole House on the state of the Union, Hopkins in the chair; and Yancey, of Alabama, and Bayly, of Virginia, used up two hours for annexation, and Stetson, of New York, one for and against it. The committee rose at the motion of Caleb B. Smith. I moved for the use of the hall for Robert Owen to deliver four lectures, but before I could get the question the House adjourned.

8th. When I made the motion of yesterday in the House, that the use of the hall should be granted to Robert Owen for the delivery of four weekly lectures upon his projects of reformation in human society, there was evidently a majority of the House favorable to the motion. But two large classes of the members were startled — the Whigs generally, who entertain strong prejudices against the man and his projects, and the Southern slave-mongers, in a state of perpetual panic, and who suspected that I made this motion only to get a precedent settled and to ask the use of the hall hereafter for some abolition or anti-slavery meeting. Arrington, of North Carolina, moved to lay the resolution on the table. This was, by a considerable majority, refused. Black, of Georgia, and Reding, of New Hampshire, successively moved to adjourn. Black failed, but Reding succeeded, and the question was not taken.

This morning Mr. Owen came, and said he had heard from his son and some of his friends that the objection was to the expense of lighting up the hall, and that he would compress

his discourse so as to ask the use of the hall for only two evenings—on the 29th of this month and the 5th of February.

At the House, Mr. Tustin formed his prayer for the day, being the anniversary of the battle of New Orleans. I called up the question upon my motion to grant the use of the hall to Robert Owen, and modified it so as to ask it only for two nights. Hammett, the Irishman of Mississippi, opposed it, on the pretence that he would never vote for granting the use of the hall for any purpose other than its appropriate use. Arrington moved again to lay the resolution on the table, and it was carried, by yeas and nays—ninety-one to sixty-three—twenty-four Whigs among the ayes.

Dromgoole introduced, by leave, another bill for the annexation of Texas, which was twice read and referred to the committee of the whole on the state of the Union. Burke offered inflammatory resolutions of the Legislature of New Hampshire concerning the Dorr controversy; but they were not received. Caleb B. Smith and Robert Dale Owen, of Indiana, made adverse speeches on the Texas annexation question.

9th. Mr. Robert Owen came, and thanked me for offering the resolution to grant the use of the hall of the House of Representatives for the delivery of his lectures. He professed to be satisfied with the result, and said he would find some other mode of communicating his views to the public. My only doubt is, whether I did not stretch my complaisance too far in asking for him the use of the hall.

Mr. Gouverneur was also here, returned from Virginia. He put into my hands a number of letters to Mr. Monroe, received by him during the negotiation of the Florida Treaty. I asked him to let me see the letters from General Jackson to Mr. Monroe, from which he had given me extracts. He said he would send them to me by his son, and he did so; he came with them while we were at dinner. He told me Major Lewis had asked him to give *him* these letters, but he declined. He advised me to see General Jesup.

10th. Dr. Mayo came, and, with much mystery of manner, asked for a word of private conversation with me, which was only to suggest to me the idea of offering a resolution to refer

this question to the decision of the Supreme Court of the United States. But there is no doubt that, constituted as it is, with a majority of slave-holding Judges on the bench, they would decide that Congress, in the power of admitting new States into the Union, have the power incidental to it of acquiring by purchase the territory of which new States may be formed; and that the power of declaring war carries with it the power of acquiring territory by conquest. The real constitutional incompetency of Congress is that of conferring the civil and political rights of citizens of the United States upon the people of the acquired territory, and of holding them to the duties of allegiance without their own consent. This objection is insurmountable; but the Supreme Court would consider it settled by the precedents of Louisiana and Florida.

At the House, this day, John P. Hale made two attempts to introduce his amendment to all the proposed bills or resolutions for the annexation of Texas. It is, that the Territory should be divided into two equal parts, and that in the part south and west of the line there shall be neither slavery nor involuntary servitude. His first attempt was pronounced by the Speaker to be not in order. At the second, he moved a suspension of the rules, and called for the yeas and nays. The vote was ninety-two to eighty-two—a majority of ten for the leave to offer the amendment, but not two-thirds, and therefore it was not received.

Committee of the whole on the state of the Union, G. W. Hopkins in the chair. Samuel C. Sample, of Indiana, and Ezra Dean, of Ohio, made hour speeches against and for the annexation of Texas. John P. Kennedy then moved the committee to rise; carried. A message from the President. The instructions to G. W. Erving. Laid on the table, and ordered to be printed.

11th. Morning visit from Brevet Major-General and Quartermaster-General Jesup, and I had a conversation of nearly three hours with him. He was, on the 30th of January, 1809, appointed a Second Lieutenant of infantry in the army of the United States, and has continued in the service ever since. At an early period he became a highly confidential officer, and,

during the war with Great Britain, was sent in secret and confidential mission to watch the movements of the Hartford Convention, and to keep President Madison and Mr. Monroe, then Secretary of War, constantly advised of them. From that time till the close of Mr. Monroe's Administration he was in the intimate confidence of Mr. Monroe, and was often consulted by him with regard to the measures of his Administration. He was so particularly upon the secret mission of George Graham to Galveston in 1818. Jesup gave to C. J. Ingersoll the information upon which he procured at the Department of State the copy of my instructions to George Graham on his departure upon that mission. Jackson has always been friendly to Jesup, and supported him against the intrigues and persecutions of Jesup's enemies during Jackson's Administration and that of his successor, Van Buren. He confidently believes that George W. Erving did pretend that he had brought the Spanish Government to agree to a treaty making the Rio del Norte the boundary. He said he had made the late Judge Baldwin believe it, and also Colonel Benton, and he was under a strong impression that Erving had attempted to shake Mr. Monroe's confidence in me.

13th. Committee of the whole on the state of the Union, G. W. Hopkins in the chair. Cave Johnson had previously offered a resolution to close the debate in committee on the annexation of Texas next Thursday afternoon at two o'clock. He moved the previous question; but Sample moved to lay the resolution upon the table; upon which Schenck called the yeas and nays, which were one hundred and twenty-seven to fifty-four. They are not yet ready to close the debate. But Foster, a Senator from Tennessee, in the Senate, and Milton Brown, in the House, offered this day the most insidious proposal yet made—a Missouri Compromise, giving to slavery all the territory south of 36.30, and preparing to re-cede to Mexico all the territory north of that line.

Tibbatts, of Kentucky, made an hour speech for the annexation upon the constitutional question, the whole compass of which was intrepid assertion of the prior right of France to Texas over that of Spain, and misapplication of numerous extracts from Judge Story's Commentaries on the Constitution.

He was followed by Jacob Brinkerhoff, an Ohio Democrat, against all the annexation projects, and exposing with great spirit the sectional and slave-mongering aspects of the whole subject.

Absalom H. Chappell, of Georgia, replied to Brinkerhoff, maintaining that the annexation of Texas is a great national question.

14th. The Globe of last evening contains the letter from George W. Erving to a friend, dated 12th November, 1844, Paris, being his answer to my charge against him in my address of 7th October, 1844, to the young men of Boston. He had it printed on a folio sheet of paper at Paris, of which he sent three copies, one to Robert C. Winthrop, and one for each of the newspapers the Globe and the Madisonian. Winthrop had mentioned this to me last Friday, and yesterday morning he lent me the copy of the printed sheet that Erving had sent him for himself.

Hammett moved a suspension of the rules to go into committee of the whole on the state of the Union—which was done. Hopkins, of Virginia, took the chair. Isaac C. Holmes, of Charleston, South Carolina, made the most powerful and most eloquent speech in favor of annexation that has yet been made. William J. Brown, of Indiana, made a base one of equal length on the same side.

15th. Mr. Woodbury's discourse last evening was of about two hours' duration, delivered with great rapidity, replete with various and minute details of modern and especially American improvements in the arts and sciences, physical, moral, political, and intellectual, tinged throughout with the wormwood of Democracy, like ocean brine boiled down to freshen it, with a mawkish tang of the salt remaining in the taste. It was a defence of our national character against the reproach of neglecting the progress of science. He drew from the nature of our democratic government the inference that scientific improvement must be the result of individual exertion and private enterprise, and enumerated a great multitude of American inventions, from Fulton's steamers and Whitney's cotton-gin to the Western Railroad, the Fairmount Water-Works at Philadelphia, and the Croton Aqueduct at New York.

Then he touched lightly upon the promotion of science which the Government has actually patronized—the survey of the coast, the astronomical observatory, and the exploring expedition. He made out, on the whole, a very good case, and closed with a liberal exhortation to Congress to foster science within the constitutional limitations, and to interweave together the capabilities of the National Institute and the Smithsonian Fund. Immediately after he closed, W. W. Seaton took the chair of the meeting, a vote of thanks was passed for the discourse, with the request of a copy for publication, and the meeting was dissolved.

16th. Mr. Gouverneur called on me this morning and showed me a letter from General Jackson to him, dated at the Hermitage, the 4th of this month, demanding copies of his letters to President Monroe alluded to in the publication signed "G." in the National Intelligencer of 24th December last, and also of the letters from Mr. Monroe to him, to which his were answers. He alleged as his reason for the demand, that many of his own papers were destroyed when, a few years since, his house at the Hermitage was burnt; and the letter is addressed to the care of Benjamin F. Butler, at New York, who forwarded it to Major Lewis, from whom Gouverneur received it yesterday. He had already on the 2d of January offered copies for General Jackson of his letters, if he desired them. I returned the letters to him, and he said he should immediately furnish copies of them to Major Lewis, who told him in candor yesterday that copies of them would also be furnished to the editors of the Globe. Gouverneur proposes ultimately to deposit them in the hands of some trusty person a friend of Jackson. He promised me a copy of this last letter.

At the House, William Taylor, of Lexington, Virginia, Chairman of the Committee of Accounts, gave notice to the House that the committee were ready to make a report upon an interesting subject, but, owing to circumstances of a favorable character which had occurred this morning, they had agreed to postpone their report till to-morrow.

Preston King, of Ogdensburg, New York, offered a resolution for the appointment of a committee of five to enquire and

report to the House whether a duel had been fought by two of its members, and, if so, to report a resolution of expulsion of all parties concerned therein. Yancey and Clingman had, last Monday, cracked a shot at each other, and then shook hands and come home. A motion to lay the resolution on the table followed, and was lost—seventy-nine to ninety-three. Then a mock debate of two hours—Rayner and Causin for the bullies, and Hannibal Hamlin for the Yankees. Causin moved again, and carried, to lay the whole matter on the table.

17th. This day was signalized by a memorable development of Democratic defalcation. Taylor, Chairman of the Committee of Accounts, asked leave to make a report; which was granted without opposition. The report was a statement, not remarkably lucid, that of the sum of two hundred and thirty-seven thousand dollars received by Caleb J. McNulty, Clerk of the House, on account of its contingent fund, there is a defalcation of about forty-five thousand dollars, for which he gives no account; and that he has drawn from the Treasury large sums and placed them in the hands of sundry persons in the city of New York and in the State of Ohio. He has not only failed to account for these deficiencies to the committee, but has repeatedly disregarded their calls upon him for his attendance before them. The report concluded with three resolutions: 1. That Caleb J. McNulty be dismissed from the office of Clerk of the House. 2. That the Secretary of the Treasury be directed to institute forthwith the necessary legal proceedings to ascertain and secure the balance of public money due from him as Clerk of the House. 3. That the President of the United States be requested to cause a criminal prosecution to be commenced against Caleb J. McNulty, late Clerk of the House of Representatives, for an embezzlement of the public money, and all persons advising or knowingly or willingly participating in such embezzlement, according to the provisions of the Act of Congress approved 13th August, 1841.

Weller, of Ohio, presented a letter from a commercial house in New York, acknowledging a credit to McNulty on their books of thirty thousand dollars; and Weller pledged his

personal conviction that, whatever may have been McNulty's conduct, the public will not lose a dollar by him.

Cave Johnson moved an order to the Sergeant-at-Arms to *arrest* McNulty and bring him before the House. I moved to strike out arrest and insert *summon;* which was debated, but the arrest was sustained.

Committee of the whole on the state of the Union, Hopkins in the chair. Hammett spoke about ten minutes—when the Sergeant-at-Arms returned with McNulty, who took his place at the Clerk's table as usual. The committee of the whole rose. The resolutions of the Committee of Accounts were read to McNulty. He gave some explanations, and promised that not a dollar should be lost. The subject was postponed till to-morrow, two P.M.; he is in the mean time suspended from his functions as Clerk, to be performed by the Assistant Clerk, French.

18th. At the House, Joseph Vance, Chairman of the Committee of Claims, succeeded in a motion to go into committee of the whole, John White, of Kentucky, in the chair, to take up the calendar of private bills, from twelve o'clock to two. Several private bills were disposed of, and among the rest that for the relief of Captain Allen and the owners of the ship Cadmus, for the passage of General La Fayette and his family from Havre to New York, in 1824. It was, after considerable debate, laid on the table. A shabby proceeding on the part of the Government.

At two o'clock the committee rose, and the report of the Committee of Accounts in the case of Caleb J. McNulty, the Clerk of the House, was resumed. He did not make his appearance. He had promised yesterday that on the return of his accounting clerk, Kershaw, he would settle his accounts with the committee in the space of half an hour. His clerk, Kershaw, arrived last night, and was before the committee this morning. He had a large mass of papers, which the committee had no time to examine, and produced a certificate that McNulty had a credit for twenty-nine thousand dollars at the Bank of America, in New York. When the committee asked an order for the money, he said the Clerk must do that himself.

After two or three enquiries without satisfactory answers, Cave Johnson moved the question on the first resolution reported by the Committee of Accounts, dismissing McNulty as Clerk of the House. One hundred and ninety-six members answered aye; not one voice in the negative. The second resolution passed without counting, and the third, after debate, one hundred and seventy to four. Weller made an apology for having credited what McNulty had told him yesterday, but said he still believed there would be no loss of money to the public.

George W. Hopkins moved to suspend the rules of the House requiring that the election should be held vivâ voce, and moved that Benjamin B. French be appointed Clerk of the House; which passed by an unanimous vote. The Speaker swore him in, and the House adjourned.

21st. Linn Boyd, of Kentucky, moved a resolution that all debate should cease in committee of the whole on the state of the Union, on Saturday next, at two o'clock P.M., on the joint resolution No. 46, for the annexation of Texas to the United States, and that it should then be reported to the House, with such amendments as should have been agreed to; and he moved the previous question.

Darragh gave notice that he would ask leave to introduce a bill for the adjustment and settlement of claims of citizens of the United States upon the republic of Mexico.

22d. Mr. Lewis Johnson came this morning, and requested me, by advice of Mr. Maffitt, to call again upon Mr. McCulloh, the Comptroller, to urge upon him the allowance of the remnant of claims of the representatives of William Otis; which I promised to do, but must postpone until next week. Till this Texas question is decided, I can think of nothing else; I am crushed between the upper and the nether millstone, of the question to speak or not to speak in this debate. If possible, speak I must. Yet I make no progress in my preparations.

Douglas, of Illinois, introduced a bill, of which he had given notice yesterday, for establishing military posts in the Territories of Nebraska and Oregon. Twice read, and referred to the Committee of Military Affairs.

Orville Robinson, a New York Van Burenite, asked leave

to introduce a bill for the annexation of Texas to the United States. I called for the reading of the bill, and, upon its being read, quite a commotion rose among the Southern members. Payne, of Alabama, objected to its reception.

It proposes to admit so much of Texas now as will constitute one slave-holding State, and no slavery in all the rest of the Territory, nor slavery but by the consent of Congress hereafter. Payne was frantic about it. Andrew Stewart, on the other side, moved to reject the bill at the first reading, to make an issue with the slavers. The House refused to reject the bill, by yeas and nays—sixty-eight to one hundred and nineteen. The bill was referred, with all the rest, to the committee of the whole on the state of the Union.

Tilden, of Ohio, presented resolutions of the Legislature of that State against the annexation of Texas, and for the occupation of Oregon. Referred to the committee of the whole on the state of the Union, and ordered to be printed.

Committee on the Union, Hopkins in the chair. Rathbun made a warm hour speech against annexation, and Cobb, of Georgia, one in its favor. Haralson took the floor. The committee rose, wanting a quorum; and, after a struggle of half an hour for a call of the House, a third motion to adjourn was carried, by yeas and nays—forty-six to forty-four.

24th. I had hesitated, down to the present day, whether to address the committee of the whole House on the state of the Union, upon the various projects for the annexation of Texas to this Union, which have been so long under consideration, or to sit and witness in silence the perpetration of the wrong which I too clearly saw was unavoidable. I had collected numerous documents for reference to them, and took with me sundry volumes this morning to the House.

About half an hour was consumed on miscellaneous subjects. Hardin, from the Committee on Post-Offices and Post-Roads, reported an amendatory bill for one which had been recommitted to them for reducing the rate of postage. Bayly, from the Committee of Foreign Affairs, reported a bill for the relief of Alexander H. Everett; which was referred to a committee of the whole House.

A message from the President, which had lain two days on the table, was now presented, and proved to be a communication of the treaty with China, negotiated by Mr. Cushing, now ratified with the unanimous advice and consent of the Senate. The message recommends an appropriation for a regular diplomatic mission to China. At my motion it was read, referred to the Committee of Foreign Affairs, and ordered to be printed.

Sundry other communications from the Executive Departments were presented and disposed of—laid on the table, or referred. Sixteen bills from the Senate were read twice, and appropriately referred.

Jameson, of Missouri, presented resolutions of the Legislature of that State in favor of the annexation of Texas to the United States. Committee of the whole on the state of the Union, Hopkins in the chair, upon the resolutions for the annexation of Texas. Dromgoole began with an hour speech in support of his own project. He was followed by Barnard in a conclusive but unavailing argument against the constitutional power of Congress to consummate this transaction. I then obtained the floor, and at the expiration of my hour had barely reached the threshold of my speech. Daniel, of North Carolina, Stone, of Ohio, Morse, of Maine, occupied each his hour. Ellis read a rhapsody of an hour for the annexation. Norris railed an hour against his colleague Hale. Stephens, of Georgia, took the floor, but yielded it to Darragh, which brought the time to half-past eight in the evening, when, for lack of a quorum, the committee rose, and the House adjourned.

25th. At the House, as soon as the journal was read, I asked the permission of the House to make an explanation of an expression which I had used yesterday, and which had been by some persons misunderstood. No objection was made. I had said that if slavery were totally abolished forever in Texas, and the voluntary consent of Mexico could be obtained, I would vote for the annexation of Texas to-morrow. This expression had been snapped up by the slave-mongers that it admitted the constitutional power of *Congress* to annex Texas; the whole drift of my speech had been exactly the reverse. I had not been three minutes speaking, and was referring to my

gument of yesterday, founded on my whole course on the ouisiana purchase in 1803, in the Senate—when Saunders, North Carolina, interrupted me, said I had made my explation, and objected to my proceeding further. The Speaker ould have put me down. I did not give him time, but conided; and Saunders moved to go into committee of the iole on the state of the Union, and Hopkins took the chair. Stephens, of Georgia, made a sophistical speech for and ainst the annexation, and Woodward, of South Carolina, io got the floor unfairly, made a stupid speech for annexan. I say stupid, for so he insolently called a speech made a member from Vermont.

Douglas, of Illinois, was in the chair.

Rathbun rose, and asked if that epithet of Woodward's was order.

Douglas said it was not strictly in order, but that so much itude of reflection had been allowed throughout the whole this debate that he had forborne to notice it in this particular se.

Rayner complained that by the management of the Chairin none of the Southern Whigs had been allowed to explain eir reasons for opposition to the annexation; which Hopkins sented. Causin closed the debate, and at two came the hour doom. All the propositions were successively rejected, till at offered simultaneously by Milton Brown in the House, d Foster in the Senate; which was carried in committee—e hundred and seven to one hundred and two, and, by yeas d nays, in the House—one hundred and twenty to ninetyght. Let the will of God be done!

27th. When I got to my seat in the House, they were taking e yeas and nays on a motion of Aaron V. Brown, Chairman the Committee on the Territories, to suspend the rules to go o committee of the whole on the state of the Union. The te to go into committee was one hundred and thirteen to ty. Weller, of Ohio, was placed in the chair. Cary, of aine, asked if the bill to graduate the price of the public ids was not the first to be taken up. Chairman answered, s. A. V. Brown moved to lay that aside, and to take up the

bill for establishing the Territory of Oregon. And here commenced an ominous struggle. Douglas, of Illinois, moved to take up a bill introduced by him to purchase fifteen hundred copies of a history of Oregon, California, etc., for the use of the House, and in the use of them to distribute one copy to each member of the two Houses of Congress. Cave Johnson's economics took fire; he moved to take up the Oregon bill, and it was done.

Charles J. Ingersoll moved to lay it aside and take up the Greenhow Book bill, and it was done.

Duncan railed and raved, insisting that the question had not been understood, and must be put again. The Chairman stuck to his text. Cave Johnson moved again to lay the Book bill aside and take up the Oregon bill, but lost the vote, and started a speaking debate of two hours about the honesty or the shame of purchasing books at the public expense for the private use of the members themselves.

Half a dozen dirty amendments were moved, and all rejected, till the bill was laid aside to be reported, and the Oregon bill again taken up. The first section was read, and Hammett moved the committee to rise and report and pass the Book bill. Committee rose and reported the bill. Douglas moved the previous question on engrossment. Cave Johnson moved to lay the bill on the table, and called yeas and nays—eighty-four to ninety-four. Yeas and nays on the passage of the bill—one hundred and seven to seventy-nine. A. V. Brown then moved to go into committee of the whole on the state of the Union again; which was carried. The first section of the Oregon bill was read, and Brown moved to strike out nine from the northern boundary in the bill, to read fifty-four forty instead of fifty-four forty-nine, whereupon I began a debate which continued till four o'clock, when the committee rose, and the House soon after adjourned.

28th. Morning call from Dr. Todson, who told me he was now employed in making some translations for the Department of State, because they could find no other person here who could do the work, for they were extremely hostile to him for his political opinions. The Doctor would have been more

communicative, but Robert Owen came in, and he withdrew. Mr. Owen gave me to read an address, which he said he had determined to make directly to both Houses of Congress, requesting the use first of the Senate-chamber and then of the Representative-hall, to deliver three lectures upon his system for the improvement of human society. He intimated a wish that I should present his memorial to the House—which I consented to do; but he read to me a separate paragraph on a small slip of paper which he wished to introduce into his address, and which affirmed that I had a favorable opinion of the usefulness of his system.

I told him that I could not permit the introduction of my name, and that if I should it would of itself be fatal to his application. He acquiesced.

At the House, the day was spent in calling for reports of committees and the States for resolutions which would give no rise to debate. I asked Preston King if he intended to move a call on the President for the correspondence in the negotiation for Oregon. He said, no, because it would be taken as a symptom of hostility to the Administration; but if I would move the call he would vote for it. The House had been some time in session when I took my seat. A bill from the Senate to establish the Smithsonian Institution had been received, read, and referred to the committee of the whole on the state of the Union. After all the committees had been called, the States, beginning with Maine, were called for resolutions. Burke moved an order to the Clerk to suspend the compilation of a tenth volume of United States Laws ordered at the last session of Congress, till a joint resolution for a new edition of United States Laws pending before the Senate shall be disposed of by Congress; carried. Burke moved also an investigation, by the Committee on the Expenditures of the Navy Department, of a swindling contract with James C. Zabriskie, of New Jersey; and he presented a paper containing evidence of the filthiness of this contract. He moved the previous question, and the resolution was adopted. I moved a call upon the President for copies of the negotiation for Oregon. C. J. Ingersoll attempted to evade the call; but it

was carried by yeas and nays—one hundred and sixty-six to four.

29th. At ten this morning, meeting of the select committee on the memorial of Edward Jarvis and J. Wingate Thornton, for the American Statistical Association, concerning the errors of the sixth census. It was but a quarter-before eleven when a quorum was formed—R. Barnwell Rhett, Kenneth Rayner, Henry D. Foster, and Shepard Cary, four members of the committee, being absent. I read a few pages of the memorial, but the warder of the committee-rooms soon gave us notice that the House was in session, and we adjourned to next Wednesday, ten o'clock.

I found the House engaged in the consideration of resolutions, the call of the States for which had not been completed yesterday. Among those adopted yesterday was one offered by Hopkins, that copies of all the printed bills and of the calendar of the House should be regularly laid on the reporters' desks. Houston now moved a reconsideration of this resolution. On this question the vote by rising was sixty-seven to forty-one; no quorum. The yeas and nays were called. I asked if all the printed documents of the House were to be laid on the desks of all the reporters—thirty in number.

The Speaker did not know.

I asked if the Speaker did not understand the meaning of the resolution. He said I was as able to understand the order as he was. The vote to reconsider was one hundred and nineteen to thirty-two, and then the resolution was laid over for debate.

Reuben Chapman offered a resolution yesterday, and moved the previous question, that the members of the House consider that the public offices of the Union ought to be distributed among the States according to their federal population.

I enquired if he had considered the bearings of his resolution upon the constitutional Executive power of appointment to office.

He said that it was nothing but the opinion of the members of the House. His motion for the previous question failed.

I said I wished to debate the resolution; and it was laid over.

Belser moved to suspend the rules to go into committee of the whole on the state of the Union to take up the Oregon bill.

I urged a postponement of some days for Greenhow's book, and for the answer to the call upon the President for the state of the negotiation; but the House went into committee. Duncan, Belser, and Bowlin made hour speeches for the immediate passage of the Oregon bill. The committee then rose, the House went again into committee of the whole on the state of the Union, passed three Appropriation bills, and adjourned.

30th. Mr. Owen called on me this morning, and said he had received a number of copies of his newly published book from New York, and would send me one; which he did. Its title is, "The Book of the New Moral World, containing the Rational System of Society, founded on Demonstrable Facts developing the Constitution and Laws of Human Nature, and of Society." This is an octavo volume of two hundred and sixty-four pages, in very small type, and contains the system which he has been forty years preaching, without running himself entirely down, and without being discouraged by failure.

At the House, Henley, of Indiana, moved that twenty-five thousand copies of the report of the Committee on Patents, without the list, and three thousand copies of the whole report, be printed. Objection made. He moved to suspend the rules; carried. Weller moved to reduce the number to fifteen thousand; lost, and the resolution was adopted.

Hardin moved to go into committee of the whole on the state of the Union, to take up his Post-Office bill. The House went into committee, but when Hardin moved to take up his bill, the Chairman (Weller) said that the Oregon Territory bill was the first subject before the committee, upon which Thompson, of Mississippi, had the floor; which he declined to yield, and so he wore out his hour in a fourth declamation for the establishment of the Territory of Oregon. He was followed for another hour by McClernand, of Illinois; and he by Robert Dale Owen, who first infused a small spice of variety into the debate by declaring his readiness to vote for the bill, but inti-

mating that immediately upon the heel of it he will call up his joint resolution, offered and urged by him at the last session, that the twelve months' notice, stipulated by the Convention of 1827 of joint occupancy, of its annulment, should be given to Great Britain. Owen made also some objection to the section of the bill promising grants of lands to settlers.

Joseph R. Ingersoll opposed the bill. While he was speaking, John Tyler, Junr., brought in a message from the President, which raised the expectation that it related to this subject, but which proved to be a mere communication from the Governor of Illinois upon reports of the decisions of the United States Supreme Court. Hamlin, of Maine, then made a fiery speech for Oregon, and against England.

31st. Mr. Persico came this morning, to solicit my influence in his favor for employment to execute a colossal equestrian statue of Washington, in bronze, to be located south of the southern wing of the Capitol, for which he has applied by memorial to the Senate. The Library Committee on the part of the Senate have reported favorably upon his memorial, and he wishes me to speak a good word for him to Mr. George P. Marsh, or Mr. Edmund Burke, or Mr. Lucius Lyon, who are the members of the Library Committee on the part of the House.

I promised to speak to Mr. Marsh. I found the House in session. Tibbatts, from the Committee on the Militia, had reported a joint resolution for an appropriation of fifty thousand dollars for Samuel Colt's water-proof cartridges—a gimcrack new invention; referred to the committee of the whole on the state of the Union.

Romulus M. Saunders, from the Committee on the Judiciary, had reported a bill professedly for altering and amending the naturalization laws, but in substance utterly impotent and delusive—an insulting mockery to the native American petitioners for a novitiate of twenty-one years as the condition of naturalization.

Weller moved a resolution to take the Oregon Territory bill out of committee at two o'clock P.M. to-morrow, and called for the previous question. The resolution was carried, by yeas

nd nays—ninety to sixty-five; after which the House went ıto committee of the whole on the state of the Union, Weller ı the chair; and Aaron V. Brown, Chairman of the Committee n the Territories, presented three wretchedly-drawn-up amendıents to remove, as he said, objections which had been made esterday.

Washington Hunt made a short, feeble, and pointless speech gainst the bill.

Edward Joy Morris followed in the same course, willing to ive notice to the British Government that the joint-occupation onvention is abrogated and annulled, but not to pass any ırther act of legislation upon the subject at present.

Douglas, of Illinois, raved an hour about democracy and nglophobia and universal empire.

Severance answered by a cool, sensible, and moderate speech pposed to the whole bill, and even to giving the notice of anulment of the joint-occupation Convention.

I spoke about half an hour, remonstrating against the heedss haste with which the bill is to be driven through the louse, without waiting for the book they have decided to purhase, or for the answer of the President to the call for the ocuments of the negotiation. I declared myself willing to ive the notice of annulment to the British Government, and) constitute the Territory—to take effect after the expiration f the term of notice. Aaron V. Brown answered me. Comıittee rose; adjourned.

February 1st. In the House, after the usual number of spiteıl and stupid preliminaries by the patent Democracy of the louse, they went into committee of the whole on the state of ıe Union, Weller in the chair, upon the Oregon Territory bill.

Winthrop, who had taken the floor yesterday, made an xcellent speech against the bill, and was answered with rutality by Shepard Cary, of Maine, and Andrew Kennedy, of ndiana.

Morse and Severance had a sparring bout with Shepard ary and Hannibal Hamlin about the Ashburton Treaty.

I moved as amendment for the first section of the bill, hat the President should cause to be notified to the British

Government that we annul and abrogate the joint-occupation Convention of 1827.

My amendment was lost, by tellers—seventy-five to seventy-seven. Hammett moved in substance the same amendment as the last section of the bill; and it was carried, by tellers—seventy-nine to seventy-seven.

Winthrop moved an additional section, prohibiting slavery throughout the Territory; carried, by tellers—eighty-five to sixty-six. Sundry other amendments were proposed and rejected, and the bill was thus reported to the House. Then came the previous question; carried. Motions to adjourn; that the amendments might be printed; rejected. In order to make it the unfinished business of Monday morning, the previous question was put and carried; and then the House adjourned without taking the main question.

3d. I attended the House at its first meeting; there were not sixty members present. The usual pressure of interloping business occurred, and I addressed the Speaker three or four times before he would hear me. I asked him if this was not the regular day for the call of the States for petitions. He said the first business of the day was the unfinished business of Saturday—the questions upon the amendments reported by the committee of the whole on the state of the Union to the Oregon Territory bill. I said I took it for granted that those questions would not be taken till the House should be full. In the mean time, I asked leave to present a memorial from John J. Abert, and five others, a committee of the National Institute, asking aid from the Government; together with sundry documents.

The Speaker said it could only be received with the unanimous consent of the House; and, after a pause, he said, "The Chair hears no objection," and the memorial was received. I moved its reference to a select committee of five, requesting that my name may not be of the number, considering myself as one of the petitioners. The motion was agreed to without opposition. I went to Joseph R. Ingersoll and asked him to give me five names to recommend to the Speaker for the committee. He accordingly gave me five names, but my own was

at the head of them. I struck it out, and inserted that of Ingersoll himself in its place. I changed one other of the names, and sent the list by French, the Clerk, to the Speaker.

A debate of two hours arose about a bill from the Senate concerning the Chesapeake and Ohio Canal, in which all the members from Maryland took a deep interest.

Then came the questions on the Oregon Territory bill. Aaron V. Brown moved that a separate question should be taken on Hammett's amendment requiring the President to give notice to the British Government that we annul and abrogate the joint-occupation Convention of 1827. And Campbell demanded a separate question on Winthrop's amendment prohibiting slavery throughout the Territory; it was carried, by yeas and nays—one hundred and twenty-one to sixty-nine; and Hammett's amendment was carried—one hundred and twenty-one to eighty-two. The bill passed—one hundred and forty to fifty-nine.

4th. In the Senate, this day, Evans, Chairman of the Committee of Finance, reported against the revived Sub-Treasury bill which had passed the House, and Archer, Chairman of the Committee of Foreign Affairs, reported for the rejection of the joint resolution from the House for the annexation of Texas. Buchanan, a minority of one in the committee, undertook to support the joint resolution from the House.

In the House, on the motion of Burke, a resolution from the Senate for the appointment of a joint committee of three members from each House to ascertain the mode of counting the votes of the election of President and Vice-President of the United States, and of informing the persons chosen of their election, was concurred in by the House.

Tibbatts moved a suspension of the rules to smuggle in a bill of his own, making an appropriation for the improvement of certain harbors and rivers. There was a bill already reported by the Committee of Commerce for the same purpose. Tibbatts wanted to explain, but the House would not hear him; his motion to suspend the rules was rejected—fifty-two to ninety. Hardin moved to suspend the rules to go into committee of the whole on the state of the Union to take up the

Post-Office bill. They went into committee, Linn Boyd in the chair, but, instead of the Post-Office bill, took up Houston's Land plunder bill. It was debated by Shepard Cary, Thomasson, Andrew Stewart, Bidlack, and Payne, till Weller got out of patience, and moved the committee to rise for him to offer a resolution to close the debate and take the bill out of committee to-morrow at twelve o'clock; which was done without opposition, Weller consenting to take one o'clock instead of twelve.

Then the House went into committee again on the same bill, and Bower, David L. Seymour, Jameson, and Hannibal Hamlin discussed the choicest mode of robbing the public lands, until the committee rose again.

6th. At the House, John P. Kennedy slipped in a call upon the Secretary of the Treasury for copies of certain instructions to the Collectors of Customs since last June. Committee of the whole upon the state of the Union upon the Indian Appropriation bill, which was not reported to the House yesterday, as I had supposed. Sundry amendments were offered and rejected.

Giddings made some enquiries concerning infamous items of expenditure veiled under charges such as for important services rendered the Commanding General in Florida, the real payment being to the owners of runaway slaves. Base as this transaction was in itself, it has been aggravated by fraudulent charges for the pretended increase of the slaves while fugitives, and hundreds of thousands of dollars deducted from sums due to the Indians to pay for fictitious runaway slaves from Georgia swindlers and for their pretended increase. Giddings now exposed this abomination again, as he had done before.

Edward J. Black, of Georgia, by a virulent personal invective upon Giddings, provoked him to return it with more than interest, but without its brutality.

Black, in his rage, crossed over from his seat, went round behind the Speaker, and, coming within the bar behind Giddings as he was speaking, made a pass at the back of his head with a cane. Slidell and Hammett, however, watching Black's movements, crossed over so as to meet him as he re-entered within the bar, before he had approached near enough to reach

Giddings with the cane. As he pressed on, with a face convulsed and the look of a coward fiend, Hammett threw his arms round him, and bore him off as he would a woman from a fire. Black sneaked back to his seat, and, in a tone so low that he could not be heard, whispered an apology for having trespassed on the order of the House.

8th. The bill for the relief of the heirs of James C. Watson, deceased, came up. A Georgia slave-trade speculation; Seminole Indian negro slaves taken prisoners by Creek Indian allies of the United States, said to have been promised by General Jesup as spoils of war to the Creeks; sold by them to Watson for fourteen thousand six hundred dollars, but refused to be delivered to Watson's agent because General Jesup had promised to restore them; and they were actually restored to their Seminole masters; and so the United States are to indemnify Watson for the loss of his bargain. It was debated a full hour, and then Hammett moved the previous question on the engrossment of the bill. I moved to lay it on the table. The House adjourned.

10th. The address to the people of the United States of the State Convention of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts, held at Boston on the 29th and 30th of January, and the report of William S. Archer, Chairman of the Committee of Foreign Relations of the Senate, against the joint resolution sent to them by the House for the annexation of Texas to the United States, absorbed this morning's hours till I went to the House. These two state papers form a perfect parallel and contrast of intellect, politics, and morals between Virginia and New England. They are upon one and the same subject, and embrace the same topics. Archer's report is a daguerreotype miniature portrait of Virginia; Webster's address is a full-length likeness of New England, or, rather, of Massachusetts. For Webster's mind, though a native of New Hampshire and graduate of Dartmouth, has been moulded by thirty years of association with Massachusetts to the Boston standard of thought and the mental scale of Harvard.

At the House, the bill for the relief of the heirs of Samuel C. Watson, with the question to lay it on the table pending

over it, was the unfinished business from Saturday; but this day and to-morrow had been specially assigned for the business of the Territories, and, after not more than a quarter of an hour of smuggling, the rules were suspended, and the House went into committee of the whole on the state of the Union, John W. Davis in the chair. Robert Dale Owen had introduced a substitute for the bill from the Senate to dispose of the Smithsonian bequest. Without reading, it was ordered to be printed, and referred to the committee of the whole on the state of the Union. Some half a dozen bills for squandering money in the Territories went through the committee without opposition or remark. They were chiefly gotten up by the Jew delegate from Florida, Levy. Cave Johnson stopped one or two of them, which were no sooner looked into than they were found to be gull-traps, and were rejected.

At last, one bill was brought up for the admission of the Territories of Iowa and of Florida, each as a State, into the Union. A question arose about fixing the boundaries of the State of Iowa—with regard to which there is a controversy between them and the State of Missouri. Duncan moved an amendment specially defining the boundary of Iowa; against which Augustus Dodge, the delegate from the Territory, most solemnly protested. But Vinton rose in support of Duncan's amendment; the committee rose, and the House adjourned.

11th. This was the second of the days specially assigned for the consideration of the business relating to the Territories. By a slave-monger trick, the admission of the two Territories of Iowa and of Florida was included in one bill. There is a controversy concerning their respective boundaries between the Territory of Iowa and the State of Missouri, which occasioned much of yesterday's debate, and which terminated in a political dissertation by Vinton, of Ohio, one of the best and ablest men in the House, upon the future power and influence upon this Union of the Valley of the Mississippi. Just as he began, the committee rose, and the House adjourned over to this day—when, upon going into committee of the whole on the state of the Union, Vinton took up his theme, and expatiated upon the future centripetal glory and conservative power of the West

for the preservation and perpetuation of the Union, for his allotted hour.

I dare not say how I felt when he closed.

Belser, of Alabama, followed him with a bathos of sequel to his argument, sinking into the slough of slavery. There was a proviso in the bill that when the population east of Suwanee River shall amount to thirty-five thousand federal numbers they shall be set off as a separate State; but this was struck out, notwithstanding a desperate struggle by Levy. Morse, of Maine, moved a proviso that the admission of Florida should be on condition of her people's expunging from their Constitution two articles—one prohibiting their Legislature from emancipating slaves, and the other authorizing them to pass laws excluding colored persons from the State. Levy asked him if he was serious.

The Committee rose—seventy-six to seventy-six, by the casting vote of the Chairman. Cave Johnson moved to go into committee again, and take out the bill in twenty minutes, and the previous question. I moved to adjourn. Not in order. I moved to lay Johnson's resolution on the table; tug of an hour and a half, closing with an agreement to resume the debate on the bill next Thursday. Adjourned, past five.

12th. The select committee on the memorial from the American Statistical Association upon the errors of the sixth census should have met this morning, but Mr. Brengle was, except myself, the only member who attended. I had received a memorial from the Massachusetts Medical Society upon the same subject, which I entered at the Clerk's office and had referred to the same committee.

This was the day for opening and counting the votes of the Electoral Colleges for the offices of President and Vice-President of the United States for four years from the 4th of March next. The House met, as usual, at eleven, and was busily occupied until twelve in receiving and disposing of Executive communications and bills from the Senate. I asked leave to present a memorial from Enos Stevens, offering an invention which he calls a legislative teller, for taking the yeas and nays

expeditiously; but one objection was made, and the memorial was not received.

Precisely at noon the Senators came into the hall, and took seats provided for them in front of the Clerk's table. Willie P. Mangum, President of the Senate, took the Speaker's chair, and the Speaker occupied a chair at his left hand.

The votes were counted, and the result announced: one hundred and seventy votes for James Knox Polk, of Tennessee, as President, and George Mifflin Dallas, of Pennsylvania, as Vice-President; and one hundred and five votes for Henry Clay, of Kentucky, as President, and Theodore Frelinghuysen, of New Jersey, as Vice-President. The Senate then withdrew.

The House passed a joint resolution to inform the President and Vice-President elect of their new dignities, and adjourned. I had in the midst of the ceremony received from the Marshal, Hunter, a summons to attend the Criminal Court, to testify against Sangster. I went immediately after the adjournment of the House; but the cause was already continued to the next term of the Court, in March.

13th. Last evening I was visited by Judge William A. Duer, and by Mr. Morehead, one of the Senators from Kentucky, who came to enquire if I could inform him where he could find a letter from Thomas Jefferson to Dr. Sibley, written in the summer of 1803, and giving in more detail than in any other of his published letters his reasons for the opinion that the annexation of Louisiana to the United States transcended the constitutional powers of Congress.

My recollection did not enable me to give him the desired information. He wanted it to use in a speech which he proposed to make, and did make, in the Senate this day in support of the report of the Committee of Foreign Relations of that body against the joint resolution from the House for the annexation of the republic of Texas to this Union.

I went to the House this morning with the intention, if the opportunity should be allowed, of making an hour speech on F. H. Morse's proposed amendment to the bill for admitting Iowa and Florida as States into the Union; but, immediately after the meeting of the House and the appointment of Burke

and Linn Boyd as the committee on the part of the House to notify Polk and Dallas of their election as President and Vice-President of the United States, John W. Davis, of Indiana, renewed the motion which Cave Johnson had failed to carry on Tuesday, that all debate should cease on the bill for admitting Iowa and Florida as States into the Union, in twenty minutes after going into committee of the whole on the state of the Union and taking it up.

I protested again against this precipitation, and moved to lay Davis's resolution on the table, and asked, and barely obtained, the yeas and nays. Davis, upon advice of some of his associates, extended his time from twenty minutes to two hours, and my motion to lay his resolution on the table was rejected —fifty to ninety-one.

The House then went into committee, John W. Davis in the chair, and the two hours were occupied—by Morse about half an hour in support of his amendment, and an hour and a half by Bayly, of Accomack, and Levy, the delegate from Florida, in railing against the Northern States and the abolitionists. I was allowed no opportunity to speak. Other amendments were introduced. The provision in the bill that when the white population east of Suwanee River shall amount to thirty-five thousand they shall be set off as a separate State was struck out.

When the bill was reported to the House, the Speaker decided that the question upon that amendment should not be taken in the House. I appealed from that decision. Winthrop read a passage from Jefferson's Manual. The Speaker recanted, and the House concurred with the committee and struck out the proviso—one hundred and twenty-three to seventy-seven. The bill passed—one hundred and forty-five to thirty-four.

14th. Mr. James Knox Polk arrived last night in this city. His arrival was notified by a Democratic cannonade upon the Capitol Hill, and a Democratic escort from the depot of the railroad-cars to his lodgings at Coleman's National Hotel. He brought with him his wife and a small retinue, and was accompanied by the Vice-President elect, George Mifflin Dallas, who, coming from his residence at Philadelphia, joined him at the

Relay House, nine miles on this side of Baltimore. The parade of his reception was all partisan, and a display of one Democratic member of Congress to represent each State and Territory of the Union formed a congenial part of his cortége from the cars to his lodgings. He has affected to speak, at Nashville and at Cincinnati, of being the President of the nation, and not of a party; but he is sold soul and body to that grim idol, half albino, half negro, the compound of Democracy and of slavery, which, by the slave-representation in Congress, rules and ruins the Union.

Mr. Houck, the man from Missouri recommended to me yesterday by Garrett Davis, of Kentucky, came this morning, and I went with him to the lodgings of General Almonte, the Mexican Minister; but he was sick in bed with a fever. It was relief to me, for the morning's mail had brought the tidings of Santa Anna's final overthrow and captivity in Mexico.

The House very soon after meeting went into committee of the whole on the state of the Union, and, after a close and convulsive disorderly struggle to take up the Cumberland Road bill, the Post-Office bill, the bill for extending the right of suffrage in the city of Washington, settled first on the unfinished business at the last rising of the committee, the bill of appropriation for the improvement of the Fox and Wisconsin Rivers, which was amended, reported, and passed without opposition; then upon the Navy Pension bill, passed also without opposition; and then upon the Annual Appropriation bill for the West Point Academy, which brought up the prince of demagogues, Duncan. He made a furious speech of an hour and more, of charges against the Whigs of frauds in the recent Presidential election. He was repeatedly called to order, and pronounced by the Chairman Jameson out of order, just feebly enough to encourage him to proceed, as he did proceed, without in the least heeding the decision against him. He attacked also the abuses of the army and navy, the epauletted loafers, and was answered, but not silenced, by Haralson, Dromgoole, and Parmenter. But the West Point bill passed by yeas and nays—eighty-five to forty-two.

17th. Mr. C. Colton, during the late Presidential canvass a

devoted partisan of Henry Clay, and some time editor of a newspaper called The True Whig, called on me this morning and told me that he was now engaged in the composition of a work to be published in four octavo volumes, and to be entitled The Life and Times of Henry Clay; that he has been passing the winter at Ashland with Mr. Clay collecting materials for his work, which will be published in numbers of ninety-six pages each; that the first number was already prepared for the press, and would be published very soon; that this number and a part of the second would contain all the personal biography of Mr. Clay; that Mr. Clay had not been in the habit of keeping copies of his letters, and that he (Colton) was therefore under the necessity of applying to Mr. Clay's correspondents for a sight of the originals; and he thought it probable I might have some such letters which it might be desirable for him to see.

I told Mr. Colton that I had a few letters from Mr. Clay, written at different and distant periods of time, and in a very different state of the personal relations between us; that I should cheerfully allow him (Colton) to see them all so far as I could collect them; but with regard to certain transactions at Ghent, and to one event during my Administration, his duel with John Randolph, there had been a depth of dissension between him and me which I desired not to disclose to the public, but would wish to be buried in oblivion.

Mr. Colton said that Mr. Clay would desire nothing which might disturb the friendly relations now subsisting between him and me; and we had an hour or more of full and free conversation, which I have neither time, space, nor inclination here to record.

At the House, after a sparring debate upon questions of distribution of copies of the great work on the exploring expedition, on motions to reconsider the votes laying on the table the bill for a free bridge over the eastern branch of the Potomac, and the bill for compounding with the sureties of Samuel Swartwout, both of which were lost, the bill for regulating the pay of the army was taken up. The question of its engrossment had been ordered under the screw of the previous

question. It was now taken, and the bill was ordered to be engrossed. Cave Johnson called for the yeas and nays on the passage of the bill, but forgot to move the previous question. I seized the unexpected moment and took the floor, intending to speak about five minutes. James A. Black, the reporter of the bill, called me to order, thinking the previous question yet in operation. The Speaker told him it was not. I spoke at random till the hammer of the Speaker dropped.

18th. My speech of yesterday was a random shot—a mere digression, of which, with a dozen reporters in the House, no report was made. Stansbury, the reporter for the National Intelligencer, and, excepting Leavitt, the only good one in the House, was in the Senate-chamber, reporting a speech of Levi Woodbury for the annexation of Texas.

My speech, therefore, is as if it had never been made. Its only effect was to give rise to that of Kenneth Rayner, which was an apology to his constituents for voting against the annexation joint resolution.

James A. Black, Chairman of the Retrenchment Committee, who had reported the bill regulating the pay of the army, and for other purposes, without replying either to Rayner or me, moved the previous question, and his bill was passed, by yeas and nays—one hundred and seven to thirty-seven—every one knowing that it will not pass the Senate.

Three boys, Neely, Wise, and Dietz, members of a juvenile debating society, came to me last Saturday morning with a subscription paper to purchase a library. I desired them to come again; which they did last evening, with a small manuscript volume containing a well-kept record of their proceedings as a society. At my request, they left this volume with me, and will call again in two or three days.

This morning, Mr. C. Cushing visited me, and left with me the printed Executive message to the Senate of 10th December, 1844, containing the treaty with China. I spoke of the message to the House, which, at my motion, was referred to the Committee of Foreign Affairs, from which no report upon it has yet been received. I asked Mr. Cushing if he knew what the Administration proposed in this case to do.

He said Mr. Calhoun proposed a Minister with six thousand dollars salary. I said it ought to be a full mission of the highest order in our diplomacy.

He asked if he might give that as my opinion to the President and Mr. Calhoun. I said he might. He will see me again.

19th. I read a series of twelve letters printed in the Boston Atlas, addressed to me, on the subject of the annexation of Texas to the United States; well written, though I know not by whom; well reasoned and conclusive against the measure; but without avail, for it is now apparent that it will be consummated, and is written in the Book of Fate. The only insurmountable objection against it—the perfidious robbery and dismemberment of Mexico—is lost in the anarchy and civil war into which, precisely at this moment, Mexico has fallen. She cannot maintain her own identity; she is falling to pieces, and if Texas were restored to her she could not hold it. The opposition is now confined to the mere mode of making the acquisition, and the question of power will be finally decided by the will. The Constitution is a menstruous rag, and the Union is sinking into a military monarchy, to be rent asunder like the empire of Alexander or the kingdoms of Ephraim and Judah.

At the House, even while a quorum was forming, the question was taken on McKay's motion to cease debate in committee of the whole on the state of the Union on the Civil and Diplomatic Appropriation bill, and take it out of committee, at two o'clock to-morrow; and it was carried. Slidell then moved a reconsideration of the vote yesterday rejecting Pratt's bill appropriating twenty thousand and eight thousand dollars for refurnishing and repairing the President's House and outhouses and surrounding grounds; whereupon the debate of yesterday was rekindled for another term of two hours or more. The vote was reconsidered, the bill re-debated, and, after abortive motions for the previous question and to lay the bill on the table, it was again rejected, by yeas and nays—seventy-five to seventy-seven—many of the Whigs not voting at all.

The House then went into committee of the whole on the

state of the Union, Saunders in the chair, on the Civil and Diplomatic bill, which was debated till past five; when the committee rose, and the House adjourned.

As I was walking home, I met Mr. Gilpin and Mr. Bancroft, who turned and walked with me to my house, and came in and sat down a few minutes. Gilpin was Van Buren's Attorney-General the last half-year of his term. Bancroft was his Collector at Boston.

22d. Great preparations are making for what is called a National Birthday ball next Monday—intended as a celebration of Washington's birthday. But, as the festivity will run into the succeeding day, to avoid the profanation of the Sabbath the joyous anniversary is postponed from this day to Monday. Among other ceremonials to give splendor to the occasion, they appointed committees of the managers to wait personally on Mrs. Madison, Mrs. Hamilton, and me, to invite and escort us to the ball, and yesterday Mr. Evans and Mr. Bayard, Senators from the States of Maine and Delaware, called me out from my seat in the House and announced to me their mission to tender me the invitation; which I declined, owing to my age and state of health.

I had also received a written invitation to an Inauguration ball, to be given on the 4th of March, which, in like manner, I have declined.

This morning Mr. Goodman came, and I took his Social History of Great Britain during the Reign of the Stuarts, beginning with the seventeenth century, being the period of the settlement of the United States, in two duodecimo volumes.

In the House yesterday, I met Albert H. Tracy, and Andrew T. Judson, United States District Judge in Connecticut. I asked him if he had seen C. J. Ingersoll's report and bill appropriating seventy thousand dollars to indemnify the owners of the schooner Amistad; he said he had, and had intended to publish some remarks upon it, but had waited in the expectation that it would be duly exposed in the House.

24th. At the House, the day was almost entirely consumed in a struggle to "pass per saltum" a bill for reducing the rates of postage, received from the Senate. There is in all the free

ates a loud popular clamor for a great reduction of the ıstage of letters, and it has taken a deep hold of the candi- .tes for popular favor and votes in those parts. The sectional terests of North and South are in conflict with each other in is case. The Committee of Post-Offices and Post-Roads had ported a bill in the House to reform the postage, but it fell : short of the bill from the Senate. McKay had given notice ı Saturday that he should this day move to go into committee the whole on the state of the Union, to take up the Army and ıvy Appropriation bills. He moved accordingly to go into mmittee this morning; and they did so. But they refused take up his Army bill, and took up the Postage bill from e Senate. Hopkins moved to substitute the House bill in its ıce. But Rathbun moved the committee to rise for a reso- :ion to take the House bill out of committee in ten minutes. ıe committee rose, and Hamlin, of Maine, made the ten min- es' motion; but it kindled a blaze of such indignation from e South that he soon flinched, and extended the time for bate in committee to two hours.

The Northern and Southern Democracy battled it all day, t the North finally prevailed to take the bill out of committee, er two hours of debate, to-morrow. Shepard Cary, by a ıall stratagem, got an additional hour for himself, and W. W. yne took another to rave this day.

27th. The Senate, this evening, by a vote of twenty-seven to enty-five, adopted the resolutions of the House of Repre- ıtatives for admitting Texas as a State into this Union, th two additional resolutions giving the President an alter- tive as to the manner of consummating this transaction. ıis addition was proposed by Robert J. Walker, Senator ım Mississippi, and is, in substance, the plan of Thomas H. nton. It is a signal triumph of the slave-representation in : Constitution of the United States.

28th. The day passes, and leaves scarcely a distinct trace on the memory of anything, and precisely because, among mberless other objects of comparative insignificance, the aviest calamity that ever befell myself and my country was s day consummated. Immediately after the meeting of the

House, the joint resolutions of the House for the admission of Texas as a State into this Union were returned from the Senate, with an amendment consisting of two additional resolutions.

A motion was made to supersede the reading of the journal; but objection was made, and the journal was read. I presented the report of the joint committee of the Legislature of Massachusetts, by Mr. Bell, and the resolutions of the Legislature, concerning the annexation of Texas to the United States; and they were received.

The River and Harbor bill was taken up at the stage where it was last left, and, after several of the amendments adopted in committee of the whole were rejected, Tibbatts's substituted bill was carried, by yeas and nays—one hundred and two to ninety-two; and passed—one hundred and six to ninety-five. McKay moved to go into committee of the whole on the state of the Union to take up the Army and Navy Appropriation bills; but the Texas resolutions had not yet been referred to that committee, and the House refused to go into committee—eighty-two to one hundred and seven. So the report of Burke's committee on the Rhode Island resolutions came up for the morning hour. Elmer finished the speech which he had begun against the report the last time it was before the House, and Henry Williams made a speech to sustain the report. Then, after another struggle to go into committee of the whole on the state of the Union, which the majority inflexibly refused until the Texas resolutions were referred to that committee, they were referred, and, after many fruitless efforts to delay their passage, were forced through without the allowance of any debate, and with stubborn rejection of every proposed amendment.

I took in this transaction (no part) save that of silent voting. I regard it as the apoplexy of the Constitution. The final vote of concurrence with the amendment of the Senate was one hundred and thirty-two to seventy-six. After which, on McKay's motion, the House resolved itself into a committee of the whole on the state of the Union, and crowded through the Navy Appropriation bill, alternating at pleasure between the committee with Duncan in the chair, and the House with Hopkins, Weller, and Linn Boyd by turns, the Speaker, Jones,

being indisposed. The Army Appropriation bill came next, and was squeezed along to its last lines, till the quorum failed, and at ten P.M. the House adjourned.

March 1st. As the day of inauguration of President James Knox Polk approaches, the city fills with strangers, chiefly of the Democratic party. For "wheresoever the carcass is, there will the eagles be gathered together;" and so will the carrion-crows.

This morning, at the House, John Campbell, of South Carolina, dying by inches of pulmonary consumption, immediately after the reading of the journal, entreated and obtained permission to have his name recorded in favor of the Texas resolutions adopted yesterday while he was absent from extreme indisposition. Campbell's life is probably not worth a year's lease. He said it was probably one of the last votes he should ever give in the House. He is one of those who, in the commission of crimes, think they are doing God service. He represents about eighty thousand slaves.

Committee of the whole on the state of the Union, McClelland in the chair. The bill for establishing new post-offices was taken up, loaded with a number of amendments, reported to the House, and passed. Then, committee of the whole again, Hannibal Hamlin, Chairman, and the Army Appropriation bill was taken up where it had slumped last night. Lucas, the member from the district in which is the Harper's Ferry Armory, moved to strike out the item of two hundred thousand dollars for the manufacture of arms, and insert three hundred and sixty thousand dollars. He had polled a large majority of the committee for it, but there was no quorum present. Hamlin, the Chairman, pronounced the amendment carried. I remonstrated against such a reckless waste of the public money, and made Hamlin revoke his decision, and compelled the adjournment for want of a quorum.

This morning Winthrop came and told me that half this money was wanted for the Springfield Armory, and that the item of three hundred and sixty thousand dollars was the estimate from the War Department which McKay and the Committee of Ways and Means had cut down. Lucas and

Harper's Ferry, however, carried the increased appropriation this morning, through the committee first, and then, by yeas and nays, through the House—eighty-five to seventy-five. The Army Appropriation bill, with sundry other encumbrances, was passed, and also an amendment of the Senate to the bill for reducing postage.

The House took a recess from three to half-past four o'clock, during which I came home and dined; then went back and sat till half-past ten; and then adjourned to ten o'clock Monday morning.

The Senate this day passed the bill from the House for admitting Iowa and Florida as States into the Union.

3d. Close of the Twenty-Eighth Congress, and of the Administration of John Tyler, Vice-President of the United States, acting as President—memorable as the first practical application of the experimental device in the Constitution of the United States, substituting the Vice-President as the Chief Executive Magistrate of this Union in the event of the decease of the President.

The House met at ten this morning, and business began by the call of all the committees for reports. They were chiefly asking to be discharged from the further consideration of the subjects referred to them—an office which I performed for the Committee of Manufactures and the select committee on the memorials of the American Statistical Association and the Massachusetts Medical Society relating to the errors in the returns of the sixth census. The day was consumed in the convulsive agitations and fraudulent devices usual on the closing day of a Congress. The session was protracted till three in the morning of Tuesday, and the time was passed in shuffling bills and amendments between the two Houses, in concurring and non-concurring with amendments, in receiving reports from the Committee of Enrolled Bills, in messages between the two Houses, and from the President announcing his signature of bills. The sixteenth joint rule, that no new bill shall be sent from either House to the other on the last three days of the session, and the seventeenth, that no bill shall be sent to the President on the last day, were suspended.

Numerous incidents characteristic of a last day, of which I can take no notice. Among them, the blow-up between Cave Johnson and Romulus M. Saunders, rival candidates for the office of Postmaster-General, and the triumph of Cave, sympathetic with his triumph as a candidate. So much for post-office patronage.

Owen and Burke made desperate attempts to force down a swindling Smithsonian bill, which I barely succeeded in defeating.

McKay, by a knavish trick, strangled an appropriation of forty thousand dollars for a sea-wall to preserve the Great Brewster. President Tyler vetoed a bill prohibiting payment for certain armed steamers for which he had contracted without law. He sent the bill back to the Senate, which, upon reconsideration, passed the bill with only one opposing vote. It came to the House, and was there passed again—one hundred and twenty-six to thirty-one. The first law passed in defiance of the veto precisely as midnight came. Adjourned at three A.M of .

CHAPTER XXIII.

THE TWENTY-NINTH CONGRESS.

March 4th, 1845.—Inauguration of James Knox Polk as President of the United States. The day after the closing scene of a dying Congress reminds me of what is said of a typhoon in the Asiatic seas, and of a West India hurricane, when it often happens that the transition from the most terrific fury of the tempest to a dead and breathless calm is instantaneous. Such is the change of one's personal existence between the whirlwind of yesterday and the tranquillity of this day. There was an unusual degree of pomposity paraded in the inauguration of James Knox Polk as President of the United States by the Democracy; but I witnessed nothing of it. A committee of arrangements for the reception and inauguration of the President elect had been appointed by the Senate, consisting of Levi Woodbury, of New Hampshire, Sidney Breese, of Michigan, and Walter T. Colquitt, of Georgia—all rank Democrats—who, in a very polite note, enclosed to me three printed copies of the arrangements, with a notification that a position had been assigned to the ex-Presidents, which the committee would be happy to have me occupy.

I did not avail myself of the invitation.

There was a procession of ten or eleven military companies, who escorted Mr. Polk and Mr. Tyler, who rode together in an open carriage from Coleman's National Hotel to the Capitol. They first assembled in the Senate-chamber, where George Mifflin Dallas, as Vice-President, was qualified as President of the Senate, and whence they proceeded to a platform protruding from the portico at the top of the flight of stairs ascending the eastern front to the entrance of the rotunda. There Mr. Polk delivered his inaugural address, half an hour

long, to a large assemblage of umbrellas, for it was raining hard all the time. The official oath was then administered to him by Chief-Justice Taney, and the draggle-tail procession, thinned in numbers, escorted him back to the President's house.

At night there were two balls: one at Carusi's Hall, at ten dollars a ticket, of all parties; the other, of pure Democrats, at five dollars a ticket, at the National Theatre. Mr. Polk attended both, but supped with the true-blue five-dollar Democracy. My family and myself received invitations to both, but attended neither.

5th. Numerous visitors this day, none of whose names, except that of Mr. Johnson, do I remember, absorbed my time, so that I could not even redeem the arrears of the last three days in this diary.

Mr. Lewis Johnson came, to relieve me from the trouble of calling again upon Mr. McCulloh, the Comptroller, to convince him of the justice of the remnant of claim of the estate of William Otis; for that last Monday morning he had promised a member of the Senate, a lawyer, five hundred dollars to get the claim through on that day, which he had done, not only by pressure upon the accounting officers of the Treasury, but by two personal visits to the then acting President, John Tyler, from whom he obtained a written order for the allowance of the claim, which passed through all the offices on that day. Mr. Johnson said he had not yet received the money, but it was ready for him at the Treasury, and when paid he would tell me who this Senator lawyer is; he had paid him the stipulated five hundred dollars, and found him greedy for more. I guess his name.

I rode with my wife and Mary to the Capitol, where they left me. I found some documents at the Clerk's office, and met John W. Jones, late Speaker, McKay, and Cobb, in the Post-Office. I had voted against the thanks to Jones. The testimony to his impartiality was too broad a lie for me to swallow. But I shook hands with him now—as I did with McKay, and told him it was to part from him forever for his baseness in defeating the appropriation of forty thousand dollars for a sea-wall in Boston Harbor.

President Polk this day nominated James Buchanan, of Pennsylvania, Secretary of State; Robert J. Walker, of Mississippi, Secretary of the Treasury; William L. Marcy, of New York, Secretary of War; George Bancroft, of Massachusetts, Secretary of the Navy; John Y. Mason, of Virginia, Attorney-General; and Cave Johnson, of Kentucky, Postmaster-General. They were all confirmed by the Senate, except Bancroft, whose nomination was laid over.

An entire new Cabinet, at the accession of a new President without a reverse of politics, is a novelty under the present Constitution. Rumors of it have been in circulation for some weeks, which I did not believe. I doubted especially the removal of the Secretary of State, John C. Calhoun, and even now cannot account for it, or for the tame complacency with which the Senate confirmed this day all the nominations but one.

7th. Mr. Lewis Johnson came this morning and told me the sequel of the negotiation of last Monday for the recovery of the remnant of claim upon the Treasury of the legal representatives of William Otis, deceased. He said he had yesterday received eight thousand six hundred and twelve dollars and twelve cents; that the Senator lawyer was William D. Merrick, by the magic of whose eloquence, on the last day of the Administration of John Tyler and of his own service as a member of the Senate of the United States, a written order from Mr. Tyler to the accounting officers of the Treasury to allow this sum on that day was obtained—the fruit of two personal visits of Mr. Merrick to Mr. Tyler on the same day.

Two years next June will have passed, during which has Mr. Johnson been urging the allowance of this claim, aided with all the legal abilities of two eminent lawyers—Fendall and Moffitt. I have twice visited the First Comptroller, McCulloh, to impress it upon his sense of justice, in vain. Mr. Merrick, for a fee of five hundred dollars, obtained it in one day. Mr. McCulloh, the First Comptroller, did not disguise his reluctance to sign the order. Mr. John Underwood, chief clerk of the First Auditor, who had thoroughly examined the claim and was strongly prejudiced against it, was still more averse to its allowance; but the order was obeyed.

I said the claim was just, and I was glad it had been allowed and paid; but I should have been more rejoiced if it had been more regularly allowed.

He said Mr. Merrick did not consider it irregular; he had given a receipt for the five hundred dollars, and had expressed a lively desire for more, particularly for the odd one hundred and twelve dollars and twelve cents over the eight thousand dollars. He had thought himself fully justified in resorting to this expedient, frequently used for the settlement of accounts at the Treasury, and much more efficacious than any accumulation of vouchers. He would, however, thank me to consider what he had said to me as confidential. I told him I should not be indiscreet. But this is the key to Merrick's Texas annexation vote—the "præmium pudicitiæ."

12th. On the last night of the late session of Congress, close upon midnight, Samuel F. Vinton, an able and excellent member of the House, from Ohio, came to my seat and showed me a printed letter signed in manuscript by Mr. Bartley, Governor of Ohio, dated Columbus, 6th February, 1845, transmitting resolutions of the Legislature of Ohio, printed on the other leaf of the sheet, and rescinding certain resolutions of censure passed upon me by a former Legislature of the State in 1842. The rescinding resolution is preceded by a complimentary preamble, and an additional resolution requests the Governor to forward copies of the preamble and resolutions to each of the Representatives in Congress from the State, as he might think proper, with a request that they be laid before the House of Representatives. Mr. Vinton thought it was too late for that—in which I fully concurred.

Alexander Harper, of Zanesville, another worthy member from the State, afterwards came, and showed me the copy of the same document which he had received; and Robert C. Schenck, of Dayton, gave me the one that he had received. The next morning I received under a blank cover, directed to me, without post-mark, a copy of the same document; but it was addressed to John B. Weller, the very gall-bladder of the delegation from Ohio. I enclosed it under a cover and sent it to his lodgings at Brown's Hotel.

I took to the office of the National Intelligencer, and gave to Mr. Gales for publication, the closing sheets of the list of petitions, memorials, and remonstrances presented by me to the House of Representatives during the recent session.

13th. At the Patent Office, I applied to the Commissioner, Henry L. Ellsworth, for the ivory cane made from a single tooth, presented to me by Julius Pratt & Co., of Meriden, Connecticut, and which on the 23d of April last I deposited in the Patent Office. There is in the top of the cane a golden eagle inlaid, bearing a scroll, with the motto "Right of Petition Triumphant" engraved upon it. The donors requested of me that when the gag-rule should be rescinded I would cause the date to be added to the motto; which I promised to do, if the event should happen in my lifetime. Mr. Ellsworth sent the cane to my house. There is a gold ring immediately below the pommel of the cane, thus engraved:

"To JOHN QUINCY ADAMS.

Justum et tenacem propositi virum."

I crave pardon for the vanity of this memorial. Mr. Ellsworth told me that Edmund Burke, of New Hampshire, had attempted to get him displaced, on the plea that he favored the home interest. I had heard that Burke had a shark-like appetite for the office himself.

14th. On the 2d of January last, I received a letter from Benjamin S. Cowen, then a member of the House of Representatives of the State of Ohio, dated Columbus, 30th December, 1844, informing me in terms of great kindness that he had that day had the pleasure of voting for a resolution rescinding the resolution of censure which had passed upon me in the Legislature of the same State in February, 1842, for having presented the Haverhill petition. Mr. Cowen was at that time a member of Congress from Ohio. He mentioned in his letter to me that the resolution of censure was a joint resolution of the two Houses, that the rescinding resolution was introduced into the House by a young member from Portage County, named Paine, and that it must go to the Senate. On the 26th of February last, I received a letter from R. F. Paine

himself, dated Columbus, 21st February, 1845, informing me that his rescinding resolution had that day passed the Senate by a vote of twenty-one to fifteen. He speaks of the indignation which he had felt at the passage of the resolution of censure, and of the determination he had then formed, if he should ever have the opportunity, to get it rescinded; and he enquires whether, if I should reply to his letter, I should be willing to have the correspondence published. This proposal suggested to me the idea of reviewing the transactions in connection with my presentation of the Haverhill petition, in the nature of a deposition "in perpetuam rei memoriam," and for that purpose I began last Tuesday my answer to Mr. Paine, to which I have devoted ten days, and for which I need, above all, the daily admonitions of a cool and friendly mentor.

17th. I undertook this day to dispatch to the several Historical Societies in the United States the medal in honor of James Fenimore Cooper, which I promised (Commodore Elliott) to distribute, and which he sent me several weeks since for that purpose. I addressed a circular letter to the Presidents of the several societies—Albert Gallatin, at New York; Thomas Day, Hartford, Connecticut; James M. Wayne, Savannah, Georgia; James Savage, Boston; the President of the Historical Society of Ohio, Columbus; John Howland, Providence, Rhode Island; and the President of the Historical Society of Kentucky, Louisville; with each of these I forwarded one of the medals, and a card of Commodore Jesse D. Elliott. In the afternoon I took the ivory cane to Fischer's shop, and directed the date 3d December, 1844, to be engraved on the breast of the eagle, directly under the words, "Right of Petition Triumphant," on the scroll, that being the day on which the gag-rule against the reception of petitions touching the abolition of slavery (was rescinded). I walked round over the Tiber Creek, and by the Potomac Bridge, reflecting how strange it is that the recent session of Congress began with a silent vote by yeas and nays —one hundred and six to eighty-four—to rescind the rule excluding anti-slavery petitions, and ended by receiving the resolutions of the Legislature of Ohio rescinding the resolutions of censure upon me of the Legislature of 1842 for having presented

to H. R. U. S. the Haverhill petition; and yet this is the same House which, together with the remnant ruin of a Whig Senate, passed the resolutions for the robbery of the Mexican provinces, and the admission of Texas as a State, and future States, into this Union.

19th. I received this morning a note from Philip R. Fendall, United States District Attorney, dated at the Court-house, and requesting my immediate attendance before the Criminal Court, held by Judge Dunlop, to give my testimony in the case of Thomas Sangster, indicted for an assault upon me on the 18th of last January. I walked accordingly to the City Hall, and on my way was accosted by a man from the State of Illinois, near Chicago, who said he merely wanted to shake hands and speak with me. I found the Court engaged in a trial for a small theft of a breastpin from Mr. Stiles, the member of the House of Representatives from Georgia, who was present. Some question upon the admission of certain evidence arose in that case, and it was intermitted to take up that of Sangster, who was seated in the rear of the lawyers' bar.

I was sworn, and requested to take the witness's stand—which I did. The indictment was not read; he had pleaded to it before. At Mr. Fendall's request, I related the circumstances of Sangster's assault upon me, as briefly as possible. A lawyer by the name of Ratcliff appeared in his behalf.

He asked if I had observed anything peculiar in his condition at the time.

I said I saw he was in a state of violent excitement, which I attributed either to intoxication or insanity, but I did not know which.

He asked if anything had subsequently passed between Captain Sangster and me.

I said I had received a few days (ago) a letter from him, containing a very handsome apology for the act, declaring his deep regret for it, and that it was a sudden and violent impulse, which he could not control, and which he should never cease to lament. He did not say what had been the cause of his passion; but from the moment that I received his letter every trace of resentment was banished from my bosom, and I should

have been happy to have buried the whole transaction in oblivion. I had so declared when called before the Grand Jury, and had expressed to them (a wish) that, so far as concerned my personal injury, they would in considering the case set it entirely aside.

Mr. Ratcliff asked if I believed that Mr. Sangster's letter to me was sincere.

I said I had not a particle of doubt that it was so, and that from the moment of receiving it I had banished every trace of resentment from my mind.

Mr. Ratcliff then read several letters, from General Scott, Adjutant-General Jones, and several officers, testifying to the high character and distinguished military services of Mr. Sangster. The Judge sentenced him to thirty days' imprisonment and one hundred dollars fine.

20th. When Mr. Ratcliff had read the letters yesterday testifying the honorable character and services of Captain Sangster, he addressed to the Court an argument founded upon them, and upon my disclaimer of all desire for his punishment on my account, for the mitigation of the sentence upon him. Mr. Fendall, the District Attorney, made no reply. Captain Sangster in his apology to me had not stated what his motive for his assault upon me was, nor how it had originated. I mentioned this fact in my testimony, and it was specially noticed by the Judge. Mr. Ratcliff said there *was* no motive; it was a sudden uncontrollable impulse of intoxication, without a motive. But he knew better. The studious concealment of the motive is some indication of its nature. All the testimonials to Sangster's character were given him as recommendations of him for appointments to petty offices which he solicited. He was moved to his assault upon me as a passport to a lucrative office. That he was instigated to it by some jackal of Jackson's is highly probable; or he had the instinct to see that nothing could so effectively recommend him to the patronage of John Tyler.

The Judge seemed somewhat embarrassed in delivering his judgment, acknowledging the weight of the certificates of character and of my desire that he might be dealt with mercifully, but not overlooking the aggravated nature of the unprovoked

offence, and the necessity of vindicating from outrage the immunity of the Representatives of the people in Congress. When he pronounced his sentence, Mr. Ratcliff earnestly entreated that its execution might be suspended until there should be time for an application to President Polk for a pardon; to which the Judge assented. Within an hour afterwards, Mr. Ratcliff came to my house with the written application to the President, to which I readily subscribed my name, declaring my concurrence in its prayer.

25th. I finished an address to my constituents, the inhabitants of the Eighth Congressional District of Massachusetts, with the speech which I intended to have made on the bill reported on the 10th of April, 1844, by the Committee of Foreign Affairs of the House, to indemnify the owners of the Spanish schooner Amistad. A baser and more profligate misapplication of public money was never made than that proposed by this bill; and seven years in a penitentiary-cell would be a strictly just retribution for the report. In examining the compositions of Charles J. Ingersoll it is impossible to suppress indignation, and next to impossible to speak of them in terms of moderation. There is in this report a long, specious, snakish argument against the decisions of the United States Courts in the case of the Amistad captives. But it turns upon a gross and glaring forgery, a false date, alleging that the schooner Amistad was seized by Lieutenant Gedney on the 26th of August, 1839.

I took my manuscript to the office of the National Intelligencer and left it with Mr. Gales, who promised me to publish it after two or three other speeches delivered at the late session which he has yet on hand. It will work out not quite six columns of the paper; and he promised to send me the proof-slips for revisal. It is so slovenly and weak of composition that I hesitated whether to publish or give it to the flames.

In the evening I wrote a short letter to H. L. Ellsworth, Commissioner of Patents, to return the ivory cane presented to me by Julius Pratt & Co., of Meriden, Connecticut, in deposit at the Patent Office.

28th. Morning visit from Mr. Heap, heretofore Consul of the United States at Tunis, afterwards Dragoman of the mission to

Constantinople, and now a solicitor for restoration to his office at Tunis. Conversation with him—anodyne.

Mr. Bodisco, the Russian Minister, said to me last evening, "Sir Robert Peel adds six thousand seamen to the British navy for the service of the present year, and raises the estimates for the navy to the round sum of seven millions sterling—thirty-five millions of dollars. That is for your special benefit. He takes your occupation of Texas very quietly, but he will send a large naval force into the Pacific, and then, if you touch Monterey, war, universal war, will blaze out." Whereupon I observe—1. Mr. Bodisco blows the coals. 2. He has no objection to the annexation of Texas to the United States. He said, laughing, that Russia, herself in the habit of taking ten times the amount of Texas, could not object to that measure, but the main point was to do it in a genteel way; and the inconceivable thing to him was that, with the measures of Congress for the annexation of Texas, there was not a dollar of additional expense appropriated in preparation for war.

J. S. Skinner told me last night that when I was President and he was Postmaster at Baltimore he had written and published in the newspapers sundry pieces against me, till he was told that I had heard of it, and, after enquiring whether he faithfully performed the duties of his office, and being answered that he did, had said, "Then tell him that he may write against me as much and as often as he pleases." Skinner added that from that day he never published or wrote a line against me.

The rumors now are that Polk has consulted his Cabinet on the principle of political proscription; that Buchanan, Walker, and Mason were against it, Marcy, Bancroft, and Cave Johnson for it, and that Polk himself decided for the turn-out.

29th. Mr. Lewis, the contractor with this Government for the supply and support of the light-house establishment, called on me this morning and invited me to inspect in the basement story of the Patent Office the new apparatus of light-house lamps, invented in France by Fresnel, and imported from France by Mr. Lewis himself. I went accordingly, and saw three of the four classes of refracting glasses substituted in the place of the old semi-spherical metallic reflectors. The lamps are of

brass; the machinery for circulating the oil and preserving the proper measure of the wicks curious and complicated. The polygonal lenses, round which a flame horizontally revolves, with a similar denticulated glass of smoky-crimson color, form a column of splendid light, which must be seen to be understood. The four classes are graduations of the size of the lenses, the largest of which are in eight concentric circles. The smallest of the four is of the size introduced at the entrance of Boston Harbor. I agreed with Mr. Lewis to go and see one lighted up next Monday evening at seven o clock. Fresnel first published a notice of this invention by a memoir read before the Academy of Sciences at Paris, "Sur un nouveau Système d'Éclairage des Phares," in 1822. It has now been introduced in all the maritime countries of Europe.

Mr. Campbell dined with us, and has taken lodgings at Mrs. Bihler's, three doors west of our house. He has succeeded in obtaining an office of Confidential Clerk under the Secretary of War, Marcy; but the city is in an uproar at the system of proscription from Executive offices upon which President Polk has commenced, and which threatens to be far more extensive than any that has ever before been carried through.

31st. I became immersed this morning in the annual report of the Commissioner of the Patent Office, Henry L. Ellsworth —a document which he has rendered so interesting that at the recent session of Congress the House ordered twenty-five thousand extra copies of it to be printed for circulation by the members. He has for a succession of years been improving it from year to year, till it now forms a volume of five hundred pages, and a calendar of mechanical and agricultural inventions and discoveries more sought after than any other annual document published by Congress. Ellsworth has turned the Patent Office from a mere gimcrack-shop into a great and highly useful public establishment. Yet there has been from the day of Polk's inauguration to the present a report in circulation that he has been, or is this day to be, removed, and that Edmund Burke or Benjamin F. Bidlack is to be appointed in his place. I read the report this morning. It consumed an hour of time, and diverted me from my prescribed and appropriate employment; further,

it seduced me to turn over for another hour and more the subsequent pages and the appendix to the report. As I proceeded, I found continual instigation to further enquiry, and was finally obliged to break off so as not to lose the whole day.

April 1st. I went to the Astronomical Observatory, within the last two years on the hill upon the borders of the Potomac, and under the charge of Lieutenant Maury. I found him there; but it was past meridian, and with a beclouded sky. The site is beautiful, on the spot originally reserved by General Washington for a University. The building is small and low, without any dwelling-house or garden connected with it. The instruments which I saw were on the first floor: a mural circle fastened to a granite pier, perhaps seven feet high; a transit instrument in the form of a double cone suspended between two granite cubic columns. These two are in one room, and with sky-light doors on the roof over them, and a sidereal clock in the room. In another, there is an excellent solar clock, and about forty box-chronometers kept for regulation, to be supplied from time to time to the ships of the navy going to sea. On the chamber-floor, under a dome easily movable round, is a Fraunhofer refractor of fourteen feet focal distance, with an object-glass of nine inches diameter. These instruments are susceptible of being used for valuable observations; but the building is not yet completed, and, I apprehend, not well built. They concluded to make the magnetic observations under-ground, and have accordingly a subterranean station; but it leaks, either from springy ground or from rain; the stone floor is covered with water. They have been obliged to suspend the observations; and the instruments which are there, if suffered to remain there long, will perish by the dampness of the atmosphere. Lieutenant Maury was very obliging, and promised to call on me the first clear and dark evening, to go and look through the large refractor at the nebula in the sword of Orion.

2d. Mr. Lewis Johnson came and gave me to read the letter from Mr. John Otis, of Barnstable, which I had delivered to him two days since. Mr. Johnson told me of several strange rumors which had got abroad and come to his ears, arising from

the successful interference of the late Senator from Maryland, Merrick, on the very last day of John Tyler's Administration, which obtained from him an order for the payment of his claim of six thousand eight hundred and twelve dollars and sixty-eight cents, as administrator of William Otis. He said Mr. Merrick had been attacked in the Baltimore Patriot for his final speech and vote on the Texas question, and had published in the Globe an answer in his own defence addressed to the editor of the Patriot, who in his reply charges Mr. Merrick with this arrangement for extracting money from the Treasury. And he added that he heard, as if by casualty, severe and very erroneous remarks by strangers relating to this affair, charging not only Mr. Merrick, but Mr. Tyler himself and the Comptroller, with sharing largely of the money.

I said I was not surprised at the circulation of such rumors; they were natural exaggerations of what I thought very exceptionable in the conduct of Mr. Merrick—receiving five hundred dollars for obtaining by personal influence from Mr. Tyler the positive order on the last day of his Administration for the payment of this claim, against the earnest opposition both of the Auditor and Comptroller of the Treasury. I believed the claim just, and rejoiced that it had been paid; but I could not approve Mr. Merrick's agency in obtaining it.

I received from the office of the National Intelligencer the proof-slips of my address and intended speech on the bill to indemnify the owners of the Spanish schooner Amistad, and the report with which that bill was ushered into the House. I revised the copy, and took it to the office for publication to-morrow. Mr. Gales promised to print for me one hundred copies in octavo form. He spoke of the multitudes of removals from public offices, the besom sweeping at the present time without remorse, and being for the first time avowedly founded not only upon the principle of dismissing political enemies and providing for friends, but for the further purpose of official rotation.

3d. I shall have finally to break away from hence without accomplishing almost any of those tasks which I had imposed upon the leisure of the present spring and summer. I have

effected only the letter to R. F. Paine, and the address and speech on the bill to indemnify the owners of the Spanish schooner Amistad, with the slanderous report of the Committee of Foreign Affairs. The address and speech were published in the National Intelligencer this day. I called at the office, and took back my manuscript and three copies of the paper, which I directed to the editors of the Old Colony Memorial, at Plymouth, of the Quincy Aurora, and of the American Whig, at Taunton, requesting each of them to publish the address and speech in his paper. Mr. Gales had forgotten his promise to print for me a hundred copies of the address and speech in octavo form, and he said the types were already distributed, but he would in two or three days print a hundred copies for me in another form without charge; and he gave me to read a letter from Charles J. Ingersoll, with two slips from the Philadelphia Public Ledger of 25th and 26th October, 1843, being a Law Academy lecture on the law of foreign missions, delivered by him, and which he requests Gales to republish in the National Intelligencer. It is the offscouring of a commonplace-book of extracts from a multitude of writers, from Moses to Sir James Mackintosh, upon the laws and usages of embassies. This republication now must be to remind Mr. Polk of his peculiar qualifications for a foreign mission. The lecture is an olla podrida, written in a lively style, and, as in all his compositions, full of inaccuracies.

4th. I find it impossible to carry out the resolution formed during the session of Congress, to devote the recess to subjects of public interest which I was then compelled to overlook. I have, indeed, disposed of two of them for the present; but the rescinding of the gag-rule, the Jackson fable of the Erving Treaty with Spain, the Smithsonian bequest, the controversy between Massachusetts and South Carolina, the new States of Texas, Iowa, and Florida, the Territories of Nebraska and Oregon, and the errors of the sixth census—all subjects which I did intend thoroughly to sift before the next session of Congress, they are slipping through my hands.

I called this day on Mrs. Madison, and delivered to her, according to the request of Commodore Jesse D. Elliott, the

silver medal in honor of James Fenimore Cooper, which he caused to be struck, and which he left with me for the purpose. The other copies, for the Historical Societies, for Henry Clay, and for myself, were all in bronze; this one only was in silver. Her son, John Payne Todd, and her niece, Anna Payne, were with her.

I then paid a visit to Mr. Pakenham, the British Minister, and had a conversation of more than two hours on the general politics of the present times, and especially upon the Texas and Oregon questions. I spoke to him with unlicensed freedom, without drawing out anything but generalities from him. He lent me a small volume, by Thomas Falconer, London, 1844, on the discovery of the Mississippi, and on the Southwestern, Oregon, and Northwestern boundary of the United States.

I took my twilight walk, and, as it darkened, Lieutenant Maury came with a hack and took me to the Observatory, where I looked through the large Fraunhofer refractor at the nebula Orionis, at the cluster of spangles in Auriga, at the blazing light of Sirius, and at the double stars, orange and blue, in Andromeda.

6th. At the Second Presbyterian Church this morning, Mr. Knox preached from Matthew xxvi. 38: "Then saith He unto them, My soul is exceeding sorrowful, even unto death." The sufferings of the Saviour constitute an inexhaustible fund for pulpit eloquence. The mystery of those sufferings is incomprehensible. The narrative, by its simplicity and minuteness, beggars all human invention, and staggers all rational belief. He was executed for blasphemy, in strict conformity to the Mosaic law delivered from Sinai. The accusation, attested by two false witnesses, was, that He had said He was able to destroy the temple of God, and to build it in three days. He had said what was equivalent to it, but in a figurative sense, referring to His own death and resurrection. When charged with the words before the high-priest, He answered nothing, till, by him adjured by the living God to say whether He was the Christ, the Son of God, He answered, "Thou hast said;" and then added, "Nevertheless, I say unto you, Hereafter shall ye see the Son of man sitting on the right hand of power, and

coming in the clouds of heaven;" whereupon the high-priest rent his clothes, declared Jesus guilty of blasphemy upon His own confession, and took a vote of the chief priests, elders, and council, who sentenced Him to death. All this He before knew; yet He had three times prostrated Himself in prayer to God the Father, that if possible this cup might pass from Him. And yet when Peter smote off the ear of the high-priest's servant, Jesus sharply rebuked him, said He could pray to his Father, who would give Him more than twelve legions of angels; and Luke says that He touched the man's ear, and healed him. Mr. Knox's argument dwelt chiefly on the mental agony of Jesus in the garden of Gethsemane, of far more cruel torture than the suffering of the body by crucifixion; and this was urged as a consideration to fortify the doctrine of the Atonement.

In the afternoon, at St. John's Church, Mr. Pyne read the evening service for the second Sunday after Easter, and Professor Goodman preached from Matthew xxvii. 54: "Truly this was the Son of God." It seemed little more than a continuation of Mr. Knox's morning discourse. The sufferings of the crucifixion, and the incidents of humility, resignation, benevolence, and self-sacrifice, then exhibited by Jesus Christ, were recapitulated in a very well written, though not very well delivered, sermon. The Roman centurion exclaims, "Truly this was the Son of God." The high-priest adjures Jesus to say whether He is the Son of God. But are we not all sons of God? Mr. and Mrs. Polk were at the Presbyterian Church this morning; and as we came out, after handing his ladies into their carriage, he turned back and came up to me and shook hands with me very courteously. I received these advances with a return of equal civility.

7th. After much waste of time in deliberation, I concluded to prepare a historical memoir on the Patent Office, to be read at a meeting of the Massachusetts Historical Society—the work of a month, if ever accomplished. I began upon it last evening, and despair of being able to write more of it than the average of one page a day. I begin with the paragraph in the Constitution authorizing Congress to promote the progress of science and the useful arts.

10th. My enquiries concerning the patent laws are leading me into a boundless ocean, upon which I am already afloat without rudder or compass. In analyzing the first patent law of Congress, of 10th April, 1790, an example of the exercise of the power granted by the Constitution, and considering whence it originated, I was brought immediately to a search into the details of the English law. I came at once to the statute of James I., chapter iii., 1624, which unfolds the whole theory of natural right. That statute, published in Godson's Treatise, declares all monopolies, and grants of special privileges by the Crown, contrary to law, null, and void. By a section of the Act, patents for new inventions for fourteen years and under are specially excepted, provided they do not increase the price of goods, are not contrary to law, or inconvenient. The authority of the Crown to issue such patents is recognized as a part of the common law. I hunted an hour or two in the Madison Papers to see if there was any trace of a debate in the Convention which formed the Constitution upon the introduction of the clause giving the power to Congress to issue patents. In England it is a flower of the royal prerogative. The inference from the clause in the Federal Constitution is, that it was held to have reverted by the Revolution to the whole people of the Union, and was proper to be conferred upon Congress. It is a nominal power to promote the progress of science and useful arts by a specific power to secure to authors and inventors, for a limited time, the exclusive right to their writings and inventions. I found nothing about it in the Madison Papers.

I had received last evening a note from Mr. G. W. S. Lewis, advising me that he would this evening, at half-past seven, light up his French light-house lamps on the ground-floor of the Patent Office building, and inviting me to come and see them. I went accordingly, and was astonished at the effect of the lighting of the French lamps. There were lighted at the same time two of the lamps late in use at the Boston light-house, and similar to those now in use there. The difference is scarcely conceivable between the illumination of the old lamps and the first class of the new. But it was not equal to the

difference between the illumination of the first and fourth class. This last produced a blaze as insupportable to look at as the sun at noonday with a clear sky.

11th. Mr. George Bancroft, now Secretary of the Navy, called on me this morning, and again in the evening, and I had two long conversations with him, on subjects connected with the Navy Department, the Observatory, the magnetic apparatus and observations, the Smithsonian bequest, and the National Institute, and finally upon Mr. Lewis's catoptrical light-house lamps and the Patent Office. He asked for advice with regard to the Observatory, and the magnetic observations, which are suspended.

My advice was: 1. To build a dwelling-house adjoining the Observatory. 2. To order immediately the resumption of the magnetic observations. Much, too much, loose and desultory conversation besides, to be very much restricted hereafter. Mr. Bancroft professes great zeal to make something of his Department. I heartily wish he may. He intends to be a hard-working man. Practice should follow and realize theory. Drop the anchor, Hope!

17th. Mr. Markoe, from the Department of State, called on me this morning, to enquire if I could refer him to any book which would indicate the origin of some commercial privilege in the Kingdom of the Two Sicilies, first enjoyed by France and Spain by virtue of some secret article and stipulation in a treaty, afterwards obtained by Great Britain by force, and which all the diplomatic agents of the United States have endeavored to obtain, without success.

I told him I had never heard of this privilege before, and knew not what it was; but I referred him to Martens's, Jenkinson's, and Chalmers's Collections of Treaties for the Family Compact, Treaties of the House of Bourbon, and to Flassan's Histoire de la Diplomatie Française.

I read the remainder of the message of 20th February last, with the correspondence of H. A. Wise concerning the slave-trade. Wise's passion for notoriety and his mountebank abhorrence of the African slave-trade have drawn him into a position from which it will be curious to see how he will extricate

himself. The slave-trade piracy is carried on from Brazil, as it was and is from the Havannah. Instead of falling in with and aiding and abetting it for a share of the plunder, as Trist did at the Havannah, Wise sallies forth like a knight of the sad face against it. He moralizes and heroizes with the British Minister Hamilton and with the slave-mongers of Rio, till he takes a lover's leap from the sublime to the ridiculous.

18th. I had read part of the book lent me by Mr. Pakenham, on the discovery of the Mississippi, and on the Southwestern, Oregon, and Northwestern boundary of the United States; by Thomas Falconer, of the Honorable Society of Lincoln's Inn. London: Samuel Clarke, 18 Pall Mall, East. I resumed the reading of this book this morning, which is a sort of argumentative treatise upon the Texas and Oregon questions, of such fearful magnitude in the present condition of our country. There is much information, with some important errors, in the dissertation of Mr. Falconer; but the chief interest of his book is in the translation of original memoirs of La Salle and Tonti, and other documents recently published, which I had never before seen.

I called this morning first at the Department of State, and had a long conversation with the Secretary, Buchanan. I enquired what had been done with the call of 25th February for the correspondence of the former Consul at Rio de Janeiro, Slacum. He made enquiry of Mr. Derrick, who found the resolution and said it had been received too late to be answered before the close of the session.

I enquired if any further dispatches had been received from Mr. Wise since his letter to Mr. Calhoun of 14th December, 1844, communicated with the message of 20th February last.

He said, speaking confidentially, that a very long dispatch had been received, and a voluminous correspondence, which he had not yet had time to read through; but there had been great excitement, and a quarrel, of which he gave me a brief summary. A confused account of it has been published in the newspapers in a private letter from Rio de Janeiro, dated 9th February last.

I said I highly approved Mr. Wise's exposure of the scan-

dalous slave-trade carried on by Americans and English from Brazil; but I was apprehensive he had carried out the spurious doctrine, that the flag carries territorial jurisdiction with it all round the world, to an untenable extent; and I hoped the President would not assume it, for it could not be maintained.

He said he thought so too. He would examine the whole correspondence, and see me again.

In the Chief Clerk's (Derrick's) chamber I met Mr. Ellsworth, the Commissioner of Patents, and shortly afterwards called on him at his office. I put many questions to him concerning the early history and origin of the Patent Office; but the fire of 1836 has consumed almost all the primitive records. The Digest of 1839 divides all the patents issued into twenty-two classes of subjects, with an alphabetical list of patentees. I asked if there was a chronological list marking the succession of time in the dates of the issues. There is not; nor any list of the eminently useful, important, and successful patents.

Mr. Ellsworth spoke to me of the obstinate resistance he had to encounter from John C. Calhoun to the improvements in his reports since the new organization of the office in 1836, and the bitter complaints of Edward J. Black, of Georgia, that the Patent Reports are regarded as tariff documents, and actually defeated his election.

20th. I had received a written invitation, signed by F. S. Evans in behalf of the committee of arrangements, for the attendance of myself and my family at the dedication, at eleven o'clock this morning, of the Methodist Episcopal Church on Massachusetts Avenue, near Ninth Street. I went accordingly, and found the place—not without difficulty; for, long as I have lived at Washington, I did not even know in what direction Massachusetts Avenue was to be found. I was wandering round in the neighborhood of Ninth Street, when a stranger who was walking with a lady met me, and, seeing I was upon the search, asked me if I was looking for the Methodist church. I said I was; and he told me it was two squares above. The Massachusetts Avenue runs parallel with the Pennsylvania Avenue, due north, and about half a mile distant from it; but it

is not laid out as a street. My strolling had belated me. The church was excessively crowded, and there were numbers of people standing in the street, without the doors. An attendant at the church saw me as I approached, beckoned me to follow him, and made way for me through the throng up to the chancel fronting the pulpit, where they gave me an arm-chair. The Secretaries of State and War, Buchanan and Marcy; the Mayor, W. W. Seaton; J. C. Rives, one of the editors of the Globe; and the Rev. Dr. R. Gurley, were there. President Polk and his wife, with a younger, handsome woman, soon after came in. The President had a chair given him in the chancel, and the ladies two in the side aisle. Mr. John Y. Mason, the Attorney-General, soon after came in, with two little daughters.

I found the Rev. William Ryland, a chaplain at the navy-yard, in the pulpit, reading the first chapter of Isaiah; after which he read the latter part of the fourteenth chapter of Matthew. Then the choir sung a Methodist hymn, and Mr. Ryland preached from Isaiah xi. 9, the latter clause of the verse: "The earth shall be full of the knowledge of the Lord, as the waters cover the sea." Then notice was given that the Rev. Mr. Slicer would preach this afternoon at half-past three, and this evening at half-past seven; and Mr. Slicer himself made a cormorant exhortation for a bountiful contribution to pay the debt for building the church, and he gave a pleasant account of how Methodist churches are built and maintained —all by voluntary contribution. Then the Hallelujah Chorus was sung by the choir, and the congregation was dismissed.

21st. Mr. Bond was here, and I had much conversation with him respecting the astronomical and magnetic observatories. He thinks the dwelling-house and the building for the magnetic observations indispensable here, and that they may be detached from the Observatory, but connected with it by covered ways. The magnetic observations have been superseded at Cambridge, as well as here, and I see that Bancroft will talk more than he will act. I finished the reading of Mr. Thomas Falconer's book on the discovery of the Mississippi, and on the Oregon, which gives me an entire new view of the Louisiana question. The second memoir of La Salle, printed first in this (book), proves

that his expedition from La Rochelle in 1684 was warlike against the Mexican mines. But I must suspend my further enquiries on this subject, and return the two volumes of Hennepin, Tonti, and Joutel to the library of Congress.

Mrs. Thornton sent me several papers of the late Doctor relating to the Patent Office, useful to my enquiries, but which suggest others. I find myself continually arrested by chronological uncertainties, which I cannot stop to ascertain. In all undertakings to write lectures, addresses, orations, or memoirs, if I suffer myself to be interrupted I scarcely ever am able to resume the subject. My abortions of this kind are almost numberless. As Napoleon said to Count Romanzoff, "il faut que j'aille"—I must go ahead.

30th. The morning was occupied with packing up and preparations for my departure—always an irksome condition. Between one and two, afternoon, Mr. McClintock Young, Chief Clerk of the Treasury Department, sent me word that the Secretary was in his office, and would see me. I went immediately, and found the anteroom and the entry before his door crowded with persons waiting for admission—four out of five, if not all, place-hunters. The door-keeper opened the door for me, and Mr. Walker received me with civility. I had about half an hour's conversation with him concerning the Smithsonian bequest, and gave him my reasons for arresting in the House of Representatives, on the last night of the session, the bill which had passed the Senate. I mentioned to him my objections to the organization of the Board of Managers, qualified as a committee of Congress, but a majority of whom, though elected as members, three from the Senate by their President and three from the House by their Speaker, would be no longer members when called to act as members of the institution. I told him of the absurd amendment proposed in the House to the bill from the Senate, by Robert Dale Owen, of Indiana, and the desperate plunges made by him, and by Burke, of New Hampshire, to force the bill upon the House in its last agonies, and the selfish purpose transparent through their motions—Burke's, made close upon the midnight hour, to take it out of committee in ten minutes.

Mr. Walker, after referring to his agency heretofore as a member of the National Institute, which was unsuccessful, said that his preference for the employment of the fund was, first, for an astronomical observatory on my plan; and, secondly, for a large library, chiefly of such books as are not to be found in other public libraries. He would cheerfully co-operate, as far as he might be able, to carry such a purpose into effect. He agreed with me that a corporation, and not a committee of ex-members of Congress, was the proper organization for the management of the fund, and that measures should be taken for redeeming the principal and interest from the State of Arkansas. I left him, with a lingering hope that something may be done for the disposal of the bequest at the next session of Congress.

QUINCY, *June* 26th.—I saw the sun rise and set, clear, from Charles's house on the hill. The pleasure that I take in witnessing these magnificent phenomena of physical nature never tires; it is a part of my own nature, unintelligible to others, and, I suppose, a singularity which I should suppress or renounce. The sensations which affect me at the rising and setting sun are, first, of adoration to the power and goodness of the Creator of this wonderful universe, mingled in the morning with thanksgiving for the return of the great luminary of heaven, the source of life and of light; in the evening, with sadness at the departure of this greatest of blessings, with a conscious sense of the dependence of all animated nature upon the constant beneficence of the Creator, and with humble supplication for forgiveness of my own errors and infirmities, and for the continuance of the never-ceasing bounties of the omnipotent and all-seeing God. These sentiments are always the same, and are rather quickened than deadened by repetition. I take pleasure in indulging them, and wish that my conscience could testify to the influence of these sentiments on my conduct in life.

29th. Mr. Lunt preached this morning from Ecclesiastes iii. 1: "To every thing there is a season; and a time for every purpose under the heaven." He had given out as the first hymn to be sung the 138th of the Christian Psalter—his compilation,

and the hymn-book now used in our church. It was my version of the 65th Psalm; and no words can express the sensations with which I heard it sung. Were it possible to compress into one pulsation of the heart the pleasure which, in the whole period of my life, I have enjoyed in praise from the lips of mortal man, it would not weigh a straw to balance the ecstasy of delight which streamed from my eyes as the organ pealed and the choir of voices sung the praise of Almighty God from the soul of David, adapted to my native tongue by me. To this thrill of rapture, the composition of which I dare not analyze, there was one drawback. In the printed book the fifth line of the second stanza reads, "The morning's dawn, the evening's shade," and so it was sung; but the corresponding seventh line of the same stanza reads,

"The fields from thee the rains receive,"

totally destroying the rhyme. I instantly saw that the fifth line should read, "The morning's dawn, the shades of eve;" but whether this enormous blunder was committed by the copyist or the pressman I am left to conjecture. That it was committed by me is scarcely possible. The correction is so obvious that it could scarcely escape the notice of any intelligent reader of English versification.

The sermon was ingenious and eloquent, but somewhat eccentric, embracing remarks upon the melancholy paroxysms of Swift and Cowper, and a critique and commentary upon Shakspeare's Hamlet. The specifications of the opposite objects for which the royal preacher says there are appropriate times, has one item which the purer morality of Jesus Christ has reformed. He says there is a time to love, and a time to hate. The precept of Christ forbids hatred at all times, and, probably with reference to this very passage, commands His disciples to love their enemies.

July 7th. We have the first news that the Congress of Texas, assembled on the 17th of last month, immediately and by unanimous votes of both Houses accepted the terms prescribed by the joint resolution of the Congress of the United States of

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the 1st of March last for annexing Texas to the United States, and that the Senate of Texas have unanimously rejected the treaty negotiated for them by the Ministers of France and Great Britain with Mexico. If the voice of the people is the voice of God, this measure has now the sanction of Almighty God. I have opposed it for ten long years, firmly believing it tainted with two deadly crimes: 1, the leprous contamination of slavery; and, 2, robbery of Mexico. Victrix causa Deo placuit. The sequel is in the hands of Providence, and the ultimate result may signally disappoint those by whom this enterprise has been consummated. Fraud and rapine are at its foundation. They have sown the wind. If they reap the whirlwind, the Being who left to the will of man the improvement of his own condition will work it out according to His own good pleasure.

8th. At one o'clock I left home in the carriage with Miss Cutts and my granddaughter Mary Louisa. At Mr. Thomas Moseley's house in Dorchester I found the bridge party, and alighted. Mary Louisa went to Boston, and, on her return, took me up about half-past five o'clock. In the interval, the proprietors of the Neponset Bridge had taken their annual dinner, under an open shed, of chowder, soup, fish, fowls, and fruit, strawberries, raspberries, and cherries, with champagne and Madeira wine; after which they occupied an hour in bowling—a sport of which only the younger members of the company partook, including, however, Dr. Frothingham and Mr. Lunt, Mr. Wales and Mr. Beale. Forty-two years have passed away since the proprietors of the Neponset Bridge were incorporated by the Legislature of Massachusetts; forty-one years and three months since, on the 14th of April, 1804, I first passed it on my return from the first session of Congress which I attended as a member of the Senate of the United States. The anniversary dinners are of more recent origin. The last six or seven years they have taken place when I have been absent from the State. Of the original proprietors there was now present, besides myself, only one person, President Josiah Quincy. The bowling in Dorchester brought fresh to my recollection scenes of yet earlier date, from 1790 to 1794, when

with other young men, then my cotemporaries and associates, I frequently spent summer afternoons in riding out from Boston for a party at bowls, and when the Saturday Evening Club, which met in winter at Concert Hall, came out and dined at Pierce's, in Dorchester. There is always something sweet and something sad in the remembrance of ancient enjoyments. Robertson, in relating a visit of Charles the Fifth in his old age to Ghent, where he was born, says he reviewed with a pleasing and tender melancholy the scenes of his early childhood. My reminiscences are complicated and associated with very different sensations when bearing upon different periods of life. The siege of Boston, the battles of Lexington and Bunker's Hill, the death of my grandmother Smith, the evacuation of Boston, the smallpox, and the Declaration of Independence, are among the first; then the pleurisy fever of 1777, the Boston frigate, the voyage to France, the schools of Le Cœur and Pechigny, the return home in the Sensible, and the second voyage to Europe the same year—Spain, France, Holland, Russia, Sweden, Denmark, the Hague, Paris, my return home in 1785. I must pause.[1]

19th. The steamer Acadia, Captain , departed last Wednesday from Boston for Liverpool, and this morning the steamer Britannia, Captain John Hewitt, arrived, having left Liverpool on the 4th of this month. Louis McLane goes, with his wife, one son, and three daughters, to take the place of Edward Everett as Minister of the United States at the Court of Queen Victoria. McLane, originally from Delaware, and son of a distinguished and well-rewarded military officer of the Revolution, was named Louis, in glorification of Louis Seize, being born at the moment when the American army, in one tremendous chorus, were shouting—

> "A dauphin born, let cannons roar,
> Let trumpets rend the sky.
> All hail to Gallia's king!
> Columbia's great ally."

After the Revolution, Allan McLane was a Federalist of the

[1] Here is continued a summary of the chief events of the writer's life extended to 1803, which, being already incorporated at large in this diary, has been omitted.

hottest metal—Marshal of the District of Delaware under two appointments for four years by Washington, who in the last days of his Presidency appointed him to the then permanent office of Collector of the District of Delaware and Inspector of the port of Wilmington, which he held till Crawford, Secretary of the Treasury, wriggled through Congress a law limiting the commissions of revenue officers to four years, and contriving the limitation so that almost all the commissions would expire precisely at the time when Crawford expected to come in as President.

Louis, the Dauphin, had been bred a Federalist as hot as his father, and was member of the House of Representatives from Delaware when the Presidential election of 1825 came into the House. His vote was the vote of a whole State, and he had sold it to Crawford, I have no doubt, for a pledge that in the event of his election Allan should be renominated for his collectorship and inspectorship; but, being afraid of my resentment, he was constantly tampering with my friends for a pledge from me to the same effect.

Jackson and Crawford were at swords' points till my election, a few days after which Jackson paid a visit of peace to Crawford, whose party was thenceforward transferred to Jackson. Louis gave the vote of one of the four States for Crawford, and when his father had got, by my nomination, his reappointment, went quietly under the wings of Van Buren to Jackson. Four years after, Van Buren turned up Secretary of State, and Louis the Dauphin Minister to Great Britain, under Jackson, and then they consummated that sacrifice of the Colonial trade, to propitiate the smile of George Canning to the Democratic party of the spoils. Louis the Dauphin is precisely the man to cower before the British lion, and to consummate another sacrifice.

24th. I went this morning in the barouche to Boston, walked to the State-House, and attended a meeting of the Board of Overseers of Harvard University in the Senate-chamber. The time of meeting was twelve o'clock, and I was punctually there to the minute, but it was near half an hour before any other member came, and more than half an hour before the meeting

was opened. Neither the Governor nor the Lieutenant-Governor was there; nor was President Quincy. Rev. Dr. Pierce, of Brookline, the Secretary, said that, those officers being absent, the rule of the Board was that the senior member of the Executive Council present should preside. This was now Mr. Samuel Hoar, who accordingly took the chair.

The first communication was of the appointments to honorary degrees to be conferred at the approaching Commencement. They were all referred to a committee of three members, to report at the adjourned meeting of the Board, on the 21st of next month, at half-past twelve o'clock, at the Senate-chamber.

The next communication from the Corporation was that Josiah Quincy had resigned the office of President of the University, that they had accepted his resignation, and asked leave of the Overseers to elect a President in his place. There was an honorary resolution of the Corporation accompanying that of the acceptance of his resignation. A vote was immediately taken, confirming the acceptance of Mr. Quincy's resignation; after which Mr. John C. Gray enquired if it was not usual for the Board of Overseers, on accepting the resignation of the President, to pass some resolution expressive of their sense of the services of the retiring officer. It was suggested that it would be necessary to reconsider the acceptance of the resignation before acting upon Mr. Gray's enquiry; and he made a motion to that effect, and that a committee of three be appointed by the Chairman to consider and report upon the whole subject at the adjourned meeting. I observed that there seemed to be no need of reconsidering the acceptance of the resignation; but the appointment of the committee to report at the adjourned meeting remained. Mr. Gray modified his resolution accordingly, which was adopted, and the Chairman appointed me, Daniel A. White, and Samuel H. Walley, Jr., the committee. They agreed to meet me on the day of the adjournment, at the Senate-chamber, an hour before the meeting of the Board.

26th. Anniversary of my marriage. Forty-eight years have since passed away. A small remnant only can be before us. A merciful Providence has hitherto conducted us along the

path of life. We have enjoyed much. We have suffered not a little. Good and evil have followed us alternately. The thread has been of checkered yarn. Altogether, my lot has been a happy one upon earth, and every feeling of my heart ought to be a sentiment of gratitude to Him who is the disposer of events. I have met with bitter disappointments. Heavy calamities have befallen me. All my children, with one exception, have been taken from me—one in infancy, two in the prime of life; and this bereavement has once been extended to the second generation. The successive decease of my brother Charles, of my sister, of my mother, of my father, and of my brother Thomas, have for the last thirteen years left me the only member of the family of the past and the present generation surviving on this earth. The common theme of reason is death of fathers, and it is one of the fatalities of old age to follow to the tomb all the joys of cotemporary kindred and friendship.

> As those we love decay, we die in part;
> String after string is severed from the heart.

With regard to what is called the wheel of Fortune, my career in life has been, with severe vicissitudes, on the whole highly auspicious. With advantages of education perhaps unparalleled, with principles of integrity, of benevolence, of industry and frugality, and the lofty spirit of patriotism and independence taught me from the cradle, with the love of letters and the arts, useful and ornamental, and with aspirations of science, limited only by the scanty spark of ethereal fire in my soul, my intercourse with my cotemporaries has in all its fluctuations been more successful than I deserved. My life has been spent in the public service. Washington, Madison, Monroe, were my friends and benefactors; Jefferson, a hollow and treacherous friend; Jackson, Charles J. Ingersoll, George W. Erving, Jonathan Russell, base, malignant, and lying enemies—a list to which I might, but will not, add other names. I have enjoyed a portion of the favor of my country at least equal to my desert, but have suffered, and yet suffer, much from that slander which outvenoms all the worms of Nile. But I am wandering from my wedding-day.

August 11th. Mr. Colton came in soon after breakfast, and remained with me till near one o'clock P.M. He has ready for the press and stereotyping at New York a book in two octavo volumes, to be called the Life and Times of Henry Clay. Mr. Colton spoke to me of this work last spring, at Washington; and he comes now to gather materials to interweave in the narrative of Mr. Clay's life. Among others of those materials are the incidents of the controversy between me and Jonathan Russell concerning our negotiation at Ghent, one of the critical periods of my life. In that controversy Russell performed the part of a bungling assassin, for the benefit of Mr. Clay against me. He broke down, and Clay deserted him. In 1843 Daniel Mallory published in two large octavo volumes the Life and Speeches of Henry Clay—an electioneering mass of fulsome adulation, with not a little misrepresentation of the questions relating to the fisheries and the Mississippi. There is another life of Henry Clay, by an editor of a newspaper at Louisville, Kentucky, named Prentice, equally partial and falsifying. Mr. Colton's life will be an unqualified panegyric, and I do not much rely on the frankness and candor with which he will deal in the differences between Mr. Clay and me. But he comes to me for information, and I gave it, sparing Clay as much as truth and my conscience would let me.

He asked me to lend him my book upon the duplicate letters, the fisheries, and the Mississippi—which I did. He took it with him Saturday evening to his lodgings at French's Tavern. He returned it to me this morning, and said he had read it. He was inquisitive concerning the Panama mission, out of which he expects to weave a magnificent monument of glory to Mr. Clay's statesmanship. But there is not much in it.

I read to Mr. Colton all the entries in my diary of July, 1818, of Mr. Monroe's Cabinet meetings upon General Andrew Jackson, his invasion of Florida, and the Seminole War.

Mr. Colton finally took leave of me, and returns to New York to superintend the publication of his book.

21st. Went to Boston this morning. At eleven o'clock I walked up to the State-House, and, after half an hour waiting in the Secretary's office, Judge White and Mr. Walley came in.

We repaired to the Council-chamber, and I read the report which I had drawn up on the reference of the communication from the Corporation of the resignation of President Josiah Quincy. The report was of three resolutions proposed for adoption by the Board of Overseers:

1. A full and unqualified concurrence with the sentiments of personal respect and approbation of the administration of the President's office by Mr. Quincy, expressed by the letter of the members of the Corporation to him of 29th March, 1845, accepting his resignation.

2. A resolution of special commendation upon three points of peculiar merit in the administration of Mr. Quincy, not noticed in the letter signed by the members of the Corporation: 1, his inflexible firmness in maintaining the necessary discipline; 2, his exertions to elevate the standard of acquisitions for admission to the University, and to enlarge the circle of science attainable within its system of instruction; and, 3, his history of the University.

3. That a copy of these resolutions, signed by the Governor of the Commonwealth, as the presiding officer of the Board of Overseers, be communicated to Mr. Quincy at the close of the performances on the approaching Commencement-day.

Mr. Walley intimated some objection to the first of my resolutions, expressing entire concurrence with the letter of the Corporation. I offered to consider any amendment which he would propose; but Judge White defended the resolution so earnestly that Mr. Walley said he would assent to it as it was. The meeting of the Overseers was thinly attended. John P. Bigelow, as a member of the Council, presided. As Chairman of the committee on the honorary degrees, he reported the confirmation of them all—which was unanimously adopted. I read my report, which was also unanimously accepted, without a word of remark from any one.

23d. Mr. Minott Thayer was here, with a young man by the name of Ide, a son of the Rev. Jacob Ide, of Medway. They had two petitions, addressed, one to the Governor of Maryland, the other to the Governor of Virginia, couched in the most abject language of supplication, praying for pardon for the Rev-

Charles T. Torrey, now for six years, the first of which is nearly completed, in the Maryland Penitentiary, for aiding and abetting slaves in the attempt to escape from their chains. They call it negro-stealing. For the offence in Virginia Torrey has been indicted, and demanded by the Governor of Virginia of the Governor of Maryland, but never tried, nor even arrested. Yet the prayer for pardon is in the same terms with that to the Governor of Maryland. A crouching spaniel under the lash of its master is an image of lofty independence, compared with the prostration of these petitions signed by Levi Lincoln, John Davis, and thirty or forty names of the brightest stars of Massachusetts. I was requested to sign them, and young Ide said his father had been desirous that my name should stand first of the signers. Mr. Torrey's wife is a daughter of Dr. Ide, and he has several children.

I said I should be glad to render any service in my power to obtain the release and liberation of Mr. Torrey; but I declined signing the petition, and thought it a much more grievous offence against moral principle than the acts which Mr. Torrey is expiating in the penitentiary. I specified my objections to the petitions, and Mr. Thayer said he had foreseen and foretold that I would refuse to sign them. He asked if I had any objection to their being presented to my son for his signature.

I answered, none in the world: my son had a judgment of his own, and I wished him to exercise it. Mr. Ide said he had no doubt his father would approve my decision.

29th. There is such an excitement in the multitudes of persons and rapid revolution of incidents in the two successive days of Commencement at Harvard University, and of the prize declamations, and *Φ. B. K.* of the next day, that after they are over it seems to me as if I have been in a trance, living, moving, and being in another world, different from that of my present habitual existence. Commencement-day carries me back to that on which I was myself graduated—one of the exquisitely happy days, yet saddened with the pang of parting forever from loved associates, and from cherished studies, to enter upon another career of anticipations full of timid hope and awful fear—one of the "dies fasti" of my life—and that

by an association of ideas opens the vista of my whole collegiate period, so short and yet so memorable to me. The friendships then contracted, the extraordinary incidents of my preceding life, and the long interval of fifty-eight years, with all its eventful vicissitudes, since elapsed—all these retrospections, crowding at once upon my memory, shake my shattered nerves and confuse my mind, till my whole past life flashes before me like a luminous dream.

I said yesterday, at the dinner, that I had entered upon the sixtieth year of my membership of the *Φ. B. K.*; and it startled the juveniles before me. The retirement of President Josiah Quincy, after sixteen years' successful administration of that office, gave an additional pleasing and painful interest to all the ceremonies and performances of the two last days.

September 1st. I devoted the morning to the journal of yesterday, and after dinner to writing two short letters—one in answer to Calvin Colton, who, in a letter dated New York, 28th August, asks my permission to publish a paragraph of my last letter to him of 25th August, concerning the letter of John Rhea, in the imbecility of second childhood, or bought with the money or promises of Andrew Jackson, affirming falsely the connivance of Mr. Monroe with Jackson's military occupation of Florida in 1819. Colton wants to disclose all the facts of this specimen of Jackson's honor and honesty. Gouverneur also wishes the whole story divulged, but kept the secret during Jackson's life, from motives of prudence, and now keeps it still, for fear of Jackson's ghost. To all these transactions I was knowing only by correspondence. It is not for me to make myself busy for its publication. Jackson's vengeful hatred of Monroe was stimulated by Monroe's disavowal of his conquest of Florida; his hatred of me was stimulated by my services in saving him from the public indignation; and he glutted his revenge upon us both in the same way—by spinning out of his own brain fictitious and slanderous charges against us. If the metempsychosis of Pythagoras were a doctrine of Christian faith, the soul of Andrew Jackson would be a derelict from the body of William the Third of Orange, the glorious deliverer of Ireland, the murderer of the two De Witts, and the hero

of the battle of St. Denis, fought four days after the Peace of Nimeguen.

2d. A black man by the name of Joseph P. Humphries came this morning to visit me and ask for advice. He comes from Charleston, South Carolina, with certificates of conduct and character from white men of whom I know nothing, but who, I suppose, pass for respectable persons in that region. He comes from Charleston, because, being free, having learnt to read and write, and being a tailor by trade, he cannot live in that glorious exemplification of democracy, the State of South Carolina. He comes to settle in Massachusetts, and, apprehensive of the prejudices against his color in Boston, said his inclination was to fix himself in some small country town.

I told him that I thought the prejudice against his color would be more annoying to him in any country town than in Boston; that in country towns he would find very few, if any, of his own color with whom to associate or from whom to derive countenance and support. In Boston he might exercise his trade, and the people of his color, of whom there are many of respectable standing, would afford him society and employment. He thanked me for the advice, and said that several of his friends in Boston had given him the same.

This afternoon Mr. Elliot C. Cowdin and Mr. F. A. Peterson came, as a committee on behalf of the Mercantile Library Association, and requested me to deliver a lecture before that institution this autumn, before the next meeting of Congress. I assured them it would give me great pleasure to comply with their request if possible, but I apprehended that it would not be in my power. They said if I would repeat any lecture that I had given heretofore elsewhere, it would give the company entire satisfaction; but I have an invincible repugnance to that. I have now on hand more than I can possibly perform for the present autumn. These gentlemen were, however, so urgent that I requested them to call on me again about the 20th of this month, and promised to give them a definitive answer, so far as may be in my power. To this they acceded.

4th. On my return from Boston yesterday, I found the five volumes of my miscellaneous writings, which I have collected

to leave as a bequest to my son, returned from the bookbinder, Caleb Gill, handsomely bound in calf. There are articles in volume i., seventeen; vol. ii., eight; vol. iii., fourteen; vol. iv., twenty-four; vol. v., twenty-eight—in all, ninety-one. The first volume begins with the oration delivered at Boston 4th July, 1793. The fifth volume closes with the lecture on Society and Civilization, chiefly written in 1822, but first delivered in 1840, and first published in the American Review of last July. The article immediately preceding it is my address to my constituents of 2d April, 1845. The space of time between the first and last of these publications is fifty-two years. The lectures on Rhetoric and Oratory, two volumes, and the Silesian Letters, one volume, are distinct publications, not included in these. The oration which I delivered at Cambridge July, 1787, was published in a magazine or review at Philadelphia in September of that year, of which I had at the time a copy; but it has disappeared. The papers signed "Publicola" in the Boston Centinel, 1791, were republished in a pamphlet in England, but I was never able to procure a copy of it. Those of Marcellus, Columbus, and Barnevelt were published only in the Boston newspapers. The report to the Senate in the case of John Smith should have been in this collection, but whatever copies I had of it, when published in 8vo, are lost. The correspondence with the British Government upon the slaves carried away in violation of the Treaty of Ghent before the reference to the Emperor Alexander, and sundry other diplomatic documents, are yet missing; but this is the most complete daguerreotype reflection of my mind for more than half a century that ever has been, or ever will be, made.

17th. My practice of rising at four o'clock in the morning was commenced in the summer of 1796, at the Hague. I had never before been an early riser upon principle, though I had been taught from a child that early to bed and early to rise was the way to be healthy, wealthy, and wise. I had been very late to bed and late to rise the preceding winter and spring at London. Returned to the Hague, and no longer stimulated by the same motive to sit up late, I chanced to read, in an English Review of the life of John Wesley, the founder of the

Episcopal Methodist Church, a statement that at a certain period of his life he formed the deliberate determination to rise every morning at four o'clock. The morning after coming to this resolution, he commenced the practice, and continued it through his whole life. Profoundly struck with this narrative, the first thing I said to myself was, What John Wesley accomplished, cannot I undertake? I was not sure of my perseverance, but I thought I could try it for a time. I began it by going to bed in June, 1796, at the Hague, before nine o'clock in the evening. I slept sound, and, after a refreshing night, awoke and rose with the sun. The experiment was cheering. I continued it through the summer and autumn, and when winter came, with its long, cold nights, I still took to an early bed, with provision made for a lamp to be lighted and a fire to be kindled at four o'clock the next morning. The fiftieth year has now commenced since I went through this process, and I rose this morning at four o'clock and lighted my lamp and kindled my fire. I have not perhaps so inflexibly adhered to the rising hour of four as he did, but the average of my rising hour for the fifty years has not exceeded half-past four. One consequence has been, that the hours before breakfast have been the most contented, the most active and efficient hours of the day. My habitual practice of summer sea and river bathing and swimming began much later, and I have of late years been obliged to abandon them altogether. The shower-bath was my last resource; and I must now give up that. The jar is too racking, and I cannot recover the composure of the hand through the day.

18th. I went to Mr. Abbott Lawrence's counting-house, in Milk Street, and had an hour of conversation with him.

First, upon the papers relating to the Observatory. With regard to these he is in consultation with Samuel A. Eliot, the Treasurer of the University, and with Bowditch, and they have not yet fixed upon the plan of operations to be pursued to raise the fund of fifty thousand dollars for the salary of an observer and the incidental current expenses of the establishment; but he thought they would be prepared at our next meeting, on Saturday, when he engaged me to dine with him

again. O that I may be able to discharge my duty in this concern!

Secondly, Mr. Lawrence gave me to read the letter of Daniel Webster to Nathan Appleton of 8th August last. It is an answer to one from Appleton to him of the 4th of the same month, in which he had expressed a hope that the relations of friendship and cordiality which had formerly subsisted between Webster and Lawrence might be restored. Webster declares his willingness and earnest desire that this may be effected, and, with regard to the past, that bygones may be considered as bygones. Mr. Lawrence's answer, addressed to Appleton, and dated the 13th of this month, accepts this proposition purely and simply, repeating Webster's words that bygones are to be considered as bygones. The intimate and cordial personal relations heretofore existing between Mr. Webster and Mr. Lawrence are thus restored; but it is very apparent that confidence between them never can be restored. All Webster's political systems are interwoven with the exploration of a gold-mine for himself, and all his confidential intimacies with Lawrence have been devices to screw from him, or, by his agency, from others, money by the fifty or hundred thousand dollars at a time.

Mr. Lawrence further told me that Louis McLane, when recently here to embark in the steamer as Minister to England, told him that when Lord Ashburton arrived here for the negotiation of the treaty, Tyler sent for him (McLane) and offered him the Department of State, with the commission to negotiate with Lord Ashburton, and to turn Webster out of the Department of State for that purpose.

19th. I answered John G. Palfrey's letter of enquiries concerning Joseph Nourse. He held the office of Registrar of the Treasury from 19th of September, 1781, till 1829, when he was removed by President Andrew Jackson, and Thomas L. Smith was appointed in his place. Jackson not only removed him, but, it is said, insulted him when he applied to know the cause of his removal, by telling him that it was his old age, and that it was time for him to be making his preparation for another world. He also ordered a prosecution of him as a defaulter on the settlement of his accounts. The case was tried in the

Circuit Court of the United States, and the verdict of the jury found a large balance due to Nourse. The judgment of the Court was conformable to the verdict of the jury, and was, on appeal, confirmed by the Supreme Court of the United States. Mr. Nourse then petitioned Congress for payment of the balance which, upon judicial investigation, had been found due to him. On the 19th of May, 1832, the Judiciary Committee of the Senate reported a bill in his favor; on the 29th of March, 1834, the Committee of Claims of the House of Representatives did the same; and at every session of Congress from that time until his death, in 1842, one of these bills was before one or the other House—always defeated by the Democratic party. After his death the claim was pursued by his widow, Maria L. Nourse, with the same issue, until her death, last year, and at the last session of Congress a petition from his son and legal representative shared the same fate. All this forms no part of the enquiries of Mr. Palfrey, nor of my answers to them. They were of the offices held by Mr. Nourse, and about the time of his death. This I ascertained by the petition of his widow to the House of Representatives, which was presented by Daniel D. Barnard on the 14th of December, 1842.

This afternoon Mr. N. W. Coffin came with my son and delivered to me a letter from Joseph Bell, Chairman of the Whig State Central Committee, inviting me to attend at a Whig convention to be held at Boston next Wednesday morning, and to preside at the meeting. I declined very reluctantly, on the ground of disability by the state of my health; and I was compelled to give the same answer to Messrs. Cowdin and Peterson, the committee from the Mercantile Library Association on their invitation to deliver a lecture before them.

BOSTON, *November* 17th.—Morning visit from President Quincy, to whom I delivered all the papers relating to the Observatory at Cambridge, which it was my business to prepare, but which I have not been able to get ready. I mean it was my business to prepare an address to the friends and supporters of this establishment, with a view to a subscription making provision for the support of an observer, who it is desired should

be Mr. Bond, who now performs the duties of that office, and resides at the dwelling-house connected with it, but without other compensation. The failure of my health has prevented me from executing this duty, and I thankfully accepted the offer of Mr. Quincy to undertake it for me.

Mr. J. G. Palfrey also called to see me, but I was out. I called at the Tremont House, and enquired for Mr. Hackett, to return to him his manuscript with my answer to his letter received some weeks since. But he was no longer lodging there, nor do they know when his return is to be expected. I received invitations to dine next Saturday from Mr. F. C. Gray and from Mr. Edward Everett, the first of which I accepted, and declined the second; also an invitation from Colonel Swett to name a day of this or the next week to dine with him, for which I answered by fixing next Friday. He invited us also to call and see his pictures—which I did, with my daughter, at one o'clock this day.

I am reading the correspondence of Edmund Burke, recently published in four volumes, and in the first volume, page 281, I find a letter from Dr. John Curry, an Irish Roman Catholic, dated the 6th of August, 1779, in which he informs him of a present—a bill of three hundred guineas—offered to him by a meeting of the Roman Catholics, and at page 290 a letter from Mr. Anthony Dermott, dated 9th August of the same year, enclosing a bill for three hundred guineas, in part of a sum of five hundred, in consequence of an unanimous resolution at a meeting of the Roman Catholics, of which they pray his acceptance, as a mark of their gratitude for the many eminent services he had rendered their body, and he adds that as soon as in cash he shall have the pleasure to send him a bill for the remaining two hundred guineas. P. 291 is the answer of Mr. Burke, declining to receive the present, and he says, "It is impossible for me with any agreement to my sense of propriety to accept any sort of compensation for services which I may endeavor to do upon a public account. If the bill you allude to should come before you receive this, I must return it by post to the gentlemen who transmit it;" and in page 295 is the answer to Mr. Dermott, dated August 17th, returning the bill as he had received

it. I note specially this correspondence to mark my approbation of the principle involved in this transaction. His services for which this offer of a private gratuity was made were performed in the discharge of his duties as a member of Parliament. The refusal to receive it was the act of a lofty and independent spirit, the more creditable in him as his circumstances in life were far from affluent. His friend Charles Fox was not so scrupulous—he permitted his friends to pay his debts for him. His great rival and adversary, William Pitt, had the same offer made to him, which he rejected. There may be some casuistical argument for and against the acceptance of large and costly presents under such circumstances, but for the preservation of a pure, disinterested character my opinion is that they should always be refused. In this, however, I do not mean to include articles of trifling value, being unwilling to stake a great principle on a very small object.

24th. I received letters from B. Darwin Ames, from Elizabethtown, Essex County, New York, requesting an autograph; also an anonymous letter, signed "A real friend," from New York, stating, after many fulsome compliments, that he could not but call in question my piety and real faith in our crucified Redeemer, from the fact that he saw it announced in the New York Sun that my health was so good that I was seen in a theatre the other evening—with three notes of admiration.

I have had such epistles from such anonymous rascals before—men who deem it a heinous crime to be seen in a theatre, but quite moral to write insulting letters without daring to sign their names to them.

Also, a letter from B. H. Epperson, at Nassau Hall, Princeton, New Jersey—I suppose a student at the college—asking me to give him some rules for the guidance of a young man just about entering upon the theatre of action. The patient must minister to himself. Also, a printed circular, signed Robert Mitchell, Joseph H. Smith, A. C. Hall, James Hamilton, Andrew Dickson, and Joseph Campbell, members of the Liberty Executive Committee of the County of Indiana, asking my counsel and advice respecting the continuation of the publication of the Clarion of Freedom, a petty newspaper, anti-Masonic and anti-

slavery, in that western part of Pennsylvania; a question of not five cents' consequence whether answered or not.

WASHINGTON, *December* 6th.—With Mr. Bancroft I had a free and long conversation on politics, and especially on the parts of the message of the President of the United States relating to the controversy with Great Britain concerning the Territory of Oregon. He appeared anxious to know my opinion on that subject, which I freely gave him. I said that I approved entirely of Mr. Polk's repeated assertion of the principle first announced by President James Monroe in a message to Congress, that the continents of North and South America were no longer to be considered as scenes for their future European colonization. He said he had heard that this part of the message of Mr. Monroe had been inserted by him at my suggestion. I told him that was true; that I had been authorized by him to assert the principle in a letter of instruction to Mr. Rush, then Minister in England, and had written the paragraph in the very words inserted by Mr. Monroe in his message. It was Mr. Monroe's custom, and has been, I believe, that of all the Presidents of the United States, to prepare their annual messages, and to receive from each of the heads of Departments paragraphs ready written relating to their respective Departments, and adopt them as written, or with such modifications as the writer of the message deemed advisable. That this principle thus inserted was disagreeable to all the principal European sovereigns I well knew, and that those of Great Britain, France, and Russia had explicitly expressed their dissent from it; notwithstanding which, I adhered to it, and was glad that Mr. Polk had so emphatically referred to and repeated it. I hoped he would adhere to it; but I must in candor say that with it I believed it indispensably necessary to make large expenditures for preparation by sea and land, to maintain it if necessary by force of arms, but had not been entirely without apprehension that Mr. Polk would ultimately recede from it.

He asked me if I disapproved of Mr. Polk's repeating the offer of assuming the forty-ninth degree of latitude as the boundary-line between us and the British possessions to the Pacific Ocean. I said that I did not disapprove it, as the

refusal of the British to accept it would strengthen our final adherence to our whole claim, but that I should not have repeated it myself at this time.

Mr. Bancroft spoke of the Astronomical Observatory here, said he hoped Congress would make an appropriation for building a dwelling-house in connection with it, and that he thought it would be necessary to attach to it an observer from civil life, such as Mr. Bond. It was now under the charge of Lieutenant Maury, of the navy. I said I was perfectly willing that an observer from civil life should be attached to the Observatory here, but that I hoped he would not take Mr. Bond away from Cambridge. Mr. Bancroft's manner and deportment to me was conciliatory and apparently cordial.

8th. Before the House was called to order this morning, a gentleman, whose name I did not ascertain, requested of me for a friend a copy in my own handwriting of the resolution which I offered to the House on the 3d December, 1844, rescinding the twenty-fifth rule, commonly called the "gag," excluding from reception all petitions relating to the abolition of slavery. I promised him; and the resolution itself on the files of the House was brought to me from the Clerk's office. This evening I made and certified a copy of it in my own handwriting.

9th. The Speaker then called for petitions, two or three of which, of no interest, were presented from Maine and New Hampshire; and when Massachusetts was called, no one of the members from that State rose until the Speaker called for Rhode Island; whereupon I rose and presented a remonstrance of citizens of the town of Denmark, in the county of Lewis, in the State of New York, against the admission of Texas into the Union as a slave-holding State. I had waited, as has been my custom heretofore, for the other members from the State of Massachusetts to present the petitions with which they were charged, before beginning with mine. When I rose, Mr. Winthrop presented a private petition, but no other member from the State presented himself, and I moved that the first petition presented by me should be referred to a select committee of one member from each State, and asked for the yeas and nays. Houston, of Alabama, moved the reference of the petition to

the standing Committee on the Territories—which, taking precedence of a motion to refer to a select committee, was carried without yeas and nays.

I then proceeded to present twenty other petitions, all, except two or three, containing the same remonstrance, and they were referred to the same committee. I presented also two remonstrances of citizens of Philadelphia against the appointment of Chaplains by the two Houses of Congress; which were referred to the Committee on the Judiciary. Also the memorial of Susan G. Freeman, widow of Brevet Lieutenant-Colonel Wm. H. Freeman, of the Marine Corps; which was referred to the Committee on Naval Affairs, and ordered to be printed.

Houston, of Alabama, objected to the printing, and moved to lay over the memorial one day, according to the rule, to debate the question of printing. I desired the memorial should be read; which was done. Houston said he had no objection to the reference of the memorial, but requested me to withdraw the motion to print—which I declined, assigning my reasons for persisting in it; and the printing of the memorial was ordered by the House.

A motion was then made to adjourn, and was carried, though I had not got through with more than half my petitions; and the House adjourned, after receiving several Executive communications, among which was the Constitution of Texas, from the President of the United States.

14th. My chief occupation was to read the discussion between the successive Secretaries of State, Daniel Webster, Abel P. Upshur, John C. Calhoun, and James Buchanan, with the British Ministers Henry S. Fox and Richard Pakenham, concerning the contest of title between the United States and Great Britain to the Oregon Territory. The most remarkable reflection to which this correspondence gives rise in my mind is that, notwithstanding the positive declaration of Mr. Polk in his inaugural speech of the unquestionable title of the United States to the whole Oregon country to latitude 54.40, notwithstanding a repetition of the same declaration in his recent message to Congress, and notwithstanding the constant professed inflexibility of his official newspaper in support of this claim, he

has actually repeated the offer heretofore made by Mr. Monroe, and repeated by me, of continuing the boundary-line between the British possessions and the United States in the latitude of 49 from the Mississippi to the Pacific Ocean, and that it has again been rejected by Great Britain. This offer was formerly made under the impression that it would not be accepted, but that its effect would be to preserve the peace between the two countries, and postpone the issue of the controversy until the time should come when we should be able to maintain our claims by an appeal, if necessary, to arms. My own opinion is that this offer should never again be made, nor accepted if offered by Great Britain herself; but it is too clear to me that Mr. Polk will finish by accepting it.

16th. At eleven o'clock I attended the select committee on the revision of the rules. Present, Holmes, of South Carolina, Chairman, R. M. T. Hunter, of Virginia, Reuben Chapman, of Alabama, James B. Bowlin, of Missouri, Samuel Vinton, of Ohio, Caleb B. Smith, of Indiana, David G. Reed, of North Carolina, and myself. Hannibal Hamlin, of Maine, was absent. There are now upon this committee five members of slave-holding States, and four from the free States, only three of whom were present. The commission is to revise the rules and report to the House such alterations and amendments as might be deemed advisable. The object of the Chairman is to restore the rule excluding abolition petitions from reception; and the Speaker, a member from the free State of Indiana, has so constituted the committee as to secure a report favorable to the purpose of the Chairman. At this meeting the proceedings of the committee were only preliminary, in conversation concerning the rules generally, and the gag-rule especially.

A sub-committee of three, consisting of the Chairman, Vinton, and Hunter, was appointed by the Chairman to report a general revisal of the rules for the consideration of the committee.

I proposed that a journal of the committee should be kept; that upon all questions decided by the committee, a minute of them should be made upon the journal, and the yeas and nays taken upon it at the request of any member. I desired that I might not be placed upon the sub-committee, believing that no

improvement in the proceedings of the House is to be expected from any report of the committee, but ready for my own part to agree to any improvement of the rules which might be proposed by any member of the committee, and which I could approve; with the exception of the restoration of the anti-petition rule, to which I could under no circumstance whatever assent.

Reed, of North Carolina, said he should deem it his duty to move the restoration of the rule. Chapman, of Alabama, suggested that he should favor a substitute proposed in the first committee of the first session of the last Congress; namely, upon the presentation of every such petition, objection should be made to its being received, and the objection and petition then be laid on the table. The Chairman undertook to make up the journal for the meeting of that day, and the committee adjourned without agreeing upon the time of the next meeting.

In the House, the special order of the day, the joint resolutions reported from the Committee on the Territories for the admission of the State of Texas into the Union, were immediately taken up. McConnell, of Alabama, moved the previous question on their engrossment and third reading. Richard P. Herrick, of New York, moved to lay them on the table; rejected, by yeas and nays—fifty-two to one hundred and forty-two. The previous question was carried, by tellers—ninety-one to eighty-five. After some chicanery, the engrossment and third reading were carried, by yeas and nays—one hundred and forty-one to fifty-seven.

Julius Rockwell, of Massachusetts, made a speech of an hour against the passage of the resolutions, and proposed an amendment to the first, which the Speaker declared not to be in order. Rockwell moved to recommit the resolutions to the Committee on the Territories, with instructions to report an amendment, "provided, that within the State by this resolution admitted into the Union, slavery or involuntary servitude, except for crime, shall be prohibited, and all the provisions of the said Constitution inconsistent with this proviso shall be null and void." Douglas moved the previous question—which started a debate whether the previous question will apply to the pas-

sage of the resolutions, or to the recommitment moved by Rockwell.

The Speaker decided this question both ways, first that the main question would be on the passage of the resolutions, and then that it would be on Rockwell's motion of recommitment. Tibbatts, of Kentucky, took an appeal from this last decision. Dromgoole, of Virginia, moved a call of the House; which was refused. Tibbatts withdrew his appeal for the present, until the question was decided on the question as put by the Speaker; which was sustained by the House. Alvan Cullom moved to reconsider the vote sustaining the decision of the Speaker. The reconsideration was carried by yeas and nays—ninety-nine to ninety-five. The decision of the Chair was then reversed, and the previous question was settled to be on the passage of the resolutions. Schenck, of Ohio, asked to be excused from voting, and to assign his reason for his request, but he was soon stopped, and silenced by calls to order, and the decision of the Speaker of irrelevancy. He was then once more permitted to proceed in order, but soon arrested again for irrelevancy, and then the permission was refused. Schenck withdrew his motion to be excused; though even the right of doing that was objected to by some members of the House. Motions were made to divide the question into two, one upon each resolution; which the Speaker decided to be inadmissible. One vote by yeas and nays was taken before the two resolutions, and was carried—one hundred and forty-one to fifty-six. George W. Jones, of Tennessee, moved a reconsideration, called the previous question, and the reconsideration was rejected without division. The House adjourned at twenty minutes past three.

Dr. White, from Oregon, and a Mr. King, from Missouri, were here. Dr. White mentioned that the memorial with which he was charged from the Oregon Territory had been presented to the Senate by Mr. Cass, who had promised him assistance in support of it, and he asked me if I would undertake to present the same to the House and to support it here. I told him that I would if he so desired, but I would rather advise him, for the interest of his constituents, to have the memorial

presented by a member of the majority in the House, and a friend and supporter of the present Administration of the Federal Government.

He said he had been advised by some of the friends of the present Administration to place the memorial in my hands in preference to any other member of the House; but he enquired whom I would recommend.

I told him it was a subject of much delicacy for me to undertake to specify any particular person as peculiarly in the confidence of the present Administration, but I would name Mr. Douglas, the Chairman of the Committee on the Territories, to which the memorial would doubtless be referred.

He said he would follow this advice, and that Mr. Douglas was himself one of the persons who had advised that the memorial should be presented by me.

I said Mr. Douglas might entertain liberal opinions concerning me, but that there were a considerable number of Administration members in the House who would look with distrust and jealousy upon anything which would be proposed by me. I would give him and his memorial all the support in my power, but I could not answer for the action of any other member of the House.

20th. Mr. Grey was here, and enquired if I had examined his argument respecting the division of the Legislative and Judicial powers under the Government of the United States. I had read it cursorily, supposing it to be connected with the claim of the legal representatives of James Bell, and the bill before the Senate, and which it is expected will come from that body for the action of the House of Representatives upon it. But Mr. Grey now told me that it was upon quite a different subject, which, without clearly explaining to me, he said was intended as preparatory to an argument before the Supreme Court of the United States; and somewhat abruptly he said it involved an immense pecuniary interest, and he offered me what he called a contingent fee of five thousand dollars to undertake this argument. I told him that for many a long year I had ceased to practise law in any of the judicial Courts of the United States, and was in no condition to resume the practice now;

that I would, however, read with more particular attention his memorial again, and, if he desired it, would give him my opinion upon it as a member of the House of Representatives, without any fee or charge whatever.

I did not say to him what I thought of this contingent fee offered upon a subject intended to be brought both before the Supreme Court of the United States and before Congress; but it brought forcibly to my mind the offer of which I had recently read in the correspondence of Edmund Burke, which he peremptorily, and I think justly, declined.

It occurs to me that this double capacity of a counsellor in courts of law and a member of a legislative body affords opportunity and temptation for contingent fees of very questionable moral purity. Of one such transaction I had knowledge last winter, which in my mind was tainted with the vilest corruption; and I have heard of others, which I shall not specify, because they are familiarly spoken of as in no wise exceptionable, but for which the only palliation of which I deemed them susceptible is that alleged by Lord Chancellor Bacon in his defence upon his trial before the English House of Peers—that there are "vitia temporum" as well as "vitia hominum." It is a sad contemplation of human nature to observe how the action of the members of legislative bodies may be bought and sold, and how some of the brightest stars in that firmament may pass in occultation without losing their lustre.

I spoke this day to Mr. Cass concerning the resolutions which he has introduced into the Senate, and told him that I hoped he meant to follow them up by the proposal of measures of real and effective preparation. He said he did, and expressed his high gratification at the approbation which he had heard I had expressed of his movement. He said he hoped I concurred with him in the opinion of the justice of our title. I said I did entirely.

25th. I had a visit from Mr. James Buchanan, Secretary of State. He told me that he had formerly visited my father at Quincy, and said that in speaking to him of some of the Tories during our Revolutionary War, he said they were men of great

respectability, fine talents, and excellent private character, but that they were all deplorably loyal—an epithet which, Mr. Buchanan said, had greatly diverted him.

26th. A morning visit from Mr. Freeman and Mr. James Dixon, members of the House of Representatives from Connecticut; and I visited Mr. William A. Moseley, Representative from the Buffalo District of New York. He is confined to his chamber with a severe attack of inflammatory rheumatism, and has been unable to attend the House nearly from the commencement of the session; he is now recovering, but thinks it will be a week or ten days longer before he will be able to resume his seat. I had some conversation with him on the present state of public affairs. He is a member of the Whig party, the policy of which among the people appears to be concentrating itself upon a system of opposition to the present Administration on the ground of its propensity to war with Great Britain. Dangers of war, and a very contemptuous estimate of the object for which they suppose the President is provoking it, are the only theme upon which they dwell, without sufficiently considering that their terrors and prognostics may furnish to Mr. Polk motives and pretexts for yielding to the pretensions of our adversary, and sacrificing our own just claims to the territory in dispute, of which I think there is much greater danger than of a war for the maintenance of them.

29th. Mr. Caleb Cushing was here, and had much conversation with me. He said he was here only for two or three days, upon some business of his own, the nature of which he did not tell me. He said that we were coming again to the times of the Panama mission—which, I told him, I did not understand. He made enquiries concerning the right of intervention, and whether, according to international law, blockades could be instituted unless between parties at war. I supposed he had reference to a blockade of the Platte River, said to have been proclaimed jointly by a French and British squadron off Montevideo; and I conjectured that there was some question in our present Executive Administration depending at the present time, and that Mr. Cushing was under an expectation of a diplomatic mission connected therewith.

We had also some desultory conversation respecting his late mission to China. I mentioned the lecture which I delivered in 1842, at Boston, concerning the war then existing between Great Britain and China, in which I had avowed the opinion that in that war the right was on the side of Great Britain; that after his return from China I had heard that he, in a lecture delivered at Boston, had expressed an opinion adverse to mine, but was afterwards told that he had contradicted this statement.

He said it was so; that on reading my lecture he had procured the papers laid before the British Parliament, upon which my opinion had been formed, and that he fully concurred with it.

I asked him some questions respecting the religion of the Chinese and their system of morals, and whether among them there were any Mahometans. He said there were some Mahometans among the Tartars, but of the Chinese there was very little religion excepting Confucianism.

I observed that there were differences of international law between nations, modified by their systems of religion; that between Christian nations there was one system, founded upon the fundamental moral principle of Christianity—brotherly love among men; there was another system between Christian and Mahometan nations, modified by the Mahometan principle—the unity of God, and the creed that Mahomet is His prophet, with the further doctrine that this creed may be imposed upon the rest of mankind by force; that there was still another system with the Chinese; and I asked what was the fundamental principle of morals with them.

He said it was the relation of authority and obedience between parent and child. He said also that the words of Jesus upon the cross—"Father, forgive them, for they know not what they do"—were to the very letter in the Cyropædia of Xenophon; and he intimated that the Christian doctrine was fully comprised in the discourses of Socrates—which I think is not quite correct.

30th. A report was received from the Secretary of the Treasury in answer to a resolution enquiring why certain sums of money due to the State of Arkansas had been with-

held from payment; and the answer is that it had been by virtue of a joint resolution of the 3d March last, providing that whenever any State shall have been, or may be, in default for the payment of interest or principal on investments in its stock, or bonds held by the United States in trust, it shall be the duty of the Secretary of the Treasury to retain the whole, or so much thereof as may be necessary, of the percentage to which such State may be entitled of the proceeds of the sales of the public lands within its limits, and apply the same to the payment of said interest or principal, or to the reimbursement of any sums of money expended by the United States for that purpose. This provision was first introduced into an Act of Congress by me in 1842, and is the only check which I believe practicable to an enormous system of swindling and plunder by some of the Democratic States upon the Treasury of the Union.

The first symptom of the present Administration flinching in the controversy with Great Britain concerning the Oregon question occurred in the Senate this day, upon certain resolutions offered by Hannegan, Senator from Indiana, reasserting the right of this country to the whole of Oregon, to which amendments were offered by John C. Calhoun, declaring the subject still open for negotiation, and looking to a renewal of the offer of the forty-ninth parallel of latitude for the boundary. Hannegan's resolutions were, at his own motion, laid on the table, for further discussion hereafter.

A PRAYER,

COMPOSED IN THE SLEEPLESS HOURS OF LAST CHRISTMAS-NIGHT, TO CLOSE THE YEAR.

O Lord my God! of boundless might possessed,
In mercy soothe the tremblings of my breast!
For all the trials I am doomed to bear,
My soul submissive to Thy will prepare.
Through the long night of balmy sleep bereft,
Howe'er distressed, let patience still be left—
Patience, with calm composure to endure
Woes which no human aid or skill can cure.
My wife, my offspring, all whose fates depend
On me, oh, may they find in Thee a friend.

Whate'er of blessing is to me denied,
For them, O gracious God, Thyself provide!
And when Thy wisdom shall arrest my breath,
Fit me to meet fore'er Thy face in death.

WASHINGTON, 31st December, 1845.

January 1st, 1846.—Mr. Kavasales was the first of the visitors of this morning, and he was followed by several hundreds of others, making the New Year's visit which for many years past I have been accustomed to receive on this anniversary. A considerable portion of them consists of members of Congress, among which a small number are of politics opposite to mine; and of these there was this day, I know not for what reason, an unusual number.

The assemblage at the President's house consisted of an immense and almost numberless crowd; and among those who came here there were some whose personal conduct towards me had not led me to expect visits from them. I deem it not necessary, however, to record their names. The throng of those who came in and went out after a mere salutation continued from about twelve to half-past three, at which time I paid my own annual visit of salutation to Mrs. Madison. Her house had also been thronged with visitors, most of them the same with those who called upon me. The weather was this day unusually fair for the season; and among my visitors were the Secretaries of War, Marcy, and of the Navy, Bancroft, and the Attorney-General, John Y. Mason.

2d. Reports from committees were called. Hugh A. Haralson, Chairman of the Committee on Military Affairs, reported a bill to provide for the organization of two regiments of riflemen. He moved its reference to the committee of the whole on the state of the Union, and made the special order for next Tuesday. A long debate followed; at the close of which I took a part in it by a speech which I fear gave satisfaction to no side of the House. When I finished, James J. Faran, of Ohio, moved the suspension of the rules to offer a resolution; but the House, without hearing it read, immediately adjourned.

W. H. Seward, late Governor of New York, came to me, and enquired if I should be at home this evening. I said I should.

He promised to call on me, and did so, with Mr. Robinson, who now reports the proceedings of the House for the New York Tribune. I had a long conversation with them, in which Mr. Seward declared his full approbation of my speech in the House, but some doubt whether it would meet the concurrence of the Whig party.

In coming down stairs from the House, Mr. John W. Houston, a Whig member of the State of Delaware, had introduced himself to me, and told me that he concurred entirely with the sentiments which I had just delivered. This is probably the last great movement of my political life; it will pass through a fiery ordeal, the result of which as concerns myself I leave to the Great Disposer of events.

3d. There were two rather curious and whimsical incidents in the debate of this day. First, that the speech of Mr. Charles J. Ingersoll concurred entirely with the views which I had yesterday unfolded in my speech on the Oregon question; and, second, that Mr. Winthrop came out in point-blank opposition to them. Of this more hereafter.

5th. The House were in session this morning when I reached my seat, and Garrett Davis, of Kentucky, a member of the Committee of Foreign Affairs, was presenting a report from the minority of that committee, signed by himself, Truman Smith, of Connecticut, and Caleb B. Smith, of Indiana, against the report which had just before been made by Charles J. Ingersoll, Chairman of that committee, of the following joint resolution:

"Resolved (the Senate concurring), That the President of the United States forthwith cause the notice to be given to the Government of Great Britain, that the Convention between the United States and Great Britain concerning the Territory of Oregon, of the 6th of August, 1827, signed at London, shall be annulled and abrogated twelve months after the expiration of the said term of notice, conformably to the second article of the said Convention of the 6th of August, 1827."

And with the report Ingersoll had moved, by instruction of the committee, that the resolution should be referred to the committee of the whole on the state of the Union, and made the special order of the day for the first Monday in February next.

The report of the minority concluded with the following resolution:

"Resolved, That the question whether a notice to terminate the Convention between the United States of America and Great Britain, of October, 1818, and continued in force by the Convention of August, 1827, ought to be given, is not a matter for the decision of Congress, and upon it this House at the present refrains from the expression of any opinion."

The question debated was whether the resolution reported by the committee should be made the special order of the day for the first Monday in February. Joshua R. Giddings, of Ohio, after enquiring of the Speaker whether upon that question the merits of the resolution reported might be discussed, and being answered that to some extent they might, made an hour's speech in favor of the resolution, admitting that differing in opinion from me in believing that it would be followed by war, and holding war in utter abhorrence, he still preferred it, with all its horrors, to the state into which we were now reduced by the annexation of Texas to this Union—the subversion by that event of the balance of power held until that time by the free States of this Union, the government of which was now transferred to an oligarchy of slave-holders. To restore that balance the occupation of the whole Territory of Oregon by the United States was indispensably necessary; he should therefore go for it, and hoped for the preliminary notice to be given to Great Britain of the termination of the Convention of 1827, as required by that Convention itself.

He was followed by McDowell, of the same State, who, disclaiming all his arguments, concurred in his intention of voting for the resolution.

Robert B. Rhett, of South Carolina, a member of the Committee of Foreign Affairs, who had refused to vote either for the resolution of the committee or for the minority report against it, now in an hour's speech opposed the giving of the notice, with all his ability and all his fire. In the course of his speech he made a dead set against me, by saying that the gentleman from Massachusetts across the way had shown himself a hero by voting against the last war with England, but now

was rabid for war with her; for, though he said he was for peace, all knew that the tendency and effect of his policy was war.

Whereupon I rose and enquired whether the gentleman, in what he had said about a gentleman from Massachusetts voting against the last war, had alluded to me.

He answered that he had.

I replied, "The gentleman is mistaken."

He rejoined that at all events I did not support it.

I said that the last war had commenced in 1812; that three years before that time I had been appointed, in consequence of the support of the measures of Mr. Jefferson's Administration against Great Britain, Minister of the United States in Russia; that these were facts not known to the gentleman from South Carolina; and, after expressing some surprise that he should have ventured to make such a charge as he had done against me, I was willing to impute it to ignorance, and not to malignity.

Rhett clawed off as well as he could, by acknowledging his ignorance, and by insinuation that I was not of importance enough for him to know what my conduct had heretofore been, by expressing his horror upon the disastrous conjunction on this occasion between me and Giddings, and upon my inveterate, unmitigated hostility to the South, whence his constituents expected, whenever they saw my vote on one side of a question, to see his on the other.

When he concluded, Sims, of Missouri, made a speech in favor of giving the notice; and the House adjourned.

6th. The debate was resumed upon Ingersoll's motion to refer the report of the Committee on Foreign Affairs, the notice to be given to Great Britain of the termination in twelve months of the Convention of the 6th August, 1827, concerning Oregon, to the committee of the whole on the state of the Union, to be made the special order of the day for the 1st of February. Hilliard, of Alabama, was entitled to the floor.

Preston King, of New York, made a personal explanation of what he had said, intimating that after the conclusion of the Ashburton Treaty there was a secret understanding between Lord Ashburton, Mr. Webster, and Mr. Calhoun, that if

Great Britain would not interfere against the annexation of Texas to the United States the Territory of Oregon might be divided.

A sparring altercation followed between Preston King and Rhett, of South Carolina, who took offence at this insinuation against Mr. Calhoun. Hilliard, of Alabama, then proceeded with a very eloquent speech in favor of giving the notice, but concluding by proposing an amendment to the reported resolution, authorizing the President to give the notice whenever he should think it required by the interest and honor of the United States.

At the motion of Thompson, of Mississippi, and after some discussion, the question was divided, and taken first upon the reference to the committee of the whole on the state of the Union, which required only a majority, and was adopted without opposition, and next upon making it the special order for the 1st of February, which required a vote of two-thirds, and was lost, by yeas and nays—one hundred and two to eighty-nine—a majority, but not two-thirds.

Bowlin, of Missouri, then moved to go into committee of the whole on the state of the Union, which was agreed to, and he made a speech in favor of giving the notice; not much attended to by the House. Yancey, of Alabama, took the floor, the committee rose, and the House adjourned.

7th. I found the House in session, and in a very few minutes Rhett, of South Carolina, renewed his attack upon me, by reading the report in the Union newspaper of his charges against me made on Monday last, and now repeating the charge that I had been opposed to the war, and produced his vouchers—part of my conversation with the Chancellor, Count Romanzoff, when he first proposed the Emperor Alexander's mediation for peace between the United States and Great Britain, and an extract of my letter to Leavitt Harris, written at Ghent in 1814.

I repelled this renewed attack by relating the circumstances under which I had made the remarks to Count Romanzoff, and under which I had written the letter to Leavitt Harris, showing that the charge of my having been opposed to the war, inferred

by Mr. Rhett from these incidents, was utterly unfounded, and that his charge of hostility to the South on my part was equally false—for proof of which I referred specially to my successful exertions in obtaining indemnity for the slaves taken and carried away by the British during the last war. I exposed the prevarication of his conduct towards me in these repeated wanton and unprovoked assaults on me, and concluded by saying that I apprehended no war, because I believed that the present Administration would finally back out from their own ground.

Yancey, of Alabama, called me to order for reflecting upon the Administration, and the Speaker, as usual, set me down for irrelevancy. Yancey objected to my proceeding, but, after special permission from the House, a motion was made immediately that I should have leave to proceed, to which a unanimous answer of aye, with a single exception of Yancey himself.

Rhett closed with a wandering, silly, general diatribe, in which he admitted my services in obtaining indemnity for the slaves lost in the last war, and said that the South had made me President of the United States; to which I made no reply.

10th. In the House, Charles Hudson, member from the Fifth Congressional District of Massachusetts, complained of a breach of privilege in an article in the Union newspaper, the editors of which are the Printers of the House, and in which he was charged with falsehood by charging unnecessary delay in the delivery to the members of the House of the public documents printed by its order. Mr. Hudson made a statement proving that his charge had been perfectly well founded with regard to the delay, and, after justifying himself, said that he had no motion to make, but left the House to act in the matter as they should think proper.

In making this statement, Mr. Hudson was repeatedly, rudely, and insultingly interrupted by Felix G. McConnell, of Alabama, by calls of order, which the Speaker did not sustain, and of which Hudson himself took no notice.

When he closed, Garrett Davis, of Kentucky, offered the following resolution: "Whereas, John O. Heiss, a person in the employment of this House, having in a newspaper charged

Charles Hudson, a member of this House, with falsehood in debate, therefore resolved, that the said John O. Heiss be dismissed from the employment of the House, as one of its Printers."

This immediately started an angry and disorderly debate, in which McConnell insulted Garrett Davis several times, till Davis said, "I take no notice of a drunken blackguard;" which produced quite a sensation; but some of McConnell's friends gathered round him and prevailed upon him to leave the House; to which he did not this day return.

A long debate followed upon Garrett Davis's resolution, which was finally laid on the table on a motion of Thomas H. Bayly, of Virginia, at the close of a long speech. The vote to lay on the table, by yeas and nays, was one hundred to eighty-five. I voted in the affirmative, alone of all the members in opposition to the Administration in the House.

After the adjournment, Mr. Giddings asked me why I had so voted.

I said that if the resolution had not been laid on the table, the printer, Heiss, must first have been heard in his defence; that whether his defence was good or bad—and it was clear it could not be good—the majority of the House would certainly have acquitted him, and he would have come off with flying colors, giving the appearance before the public that he was in the right and Mr. Hudson in the wrong.

Mr. Giddings said he supposed this was my motive.

This flurry being over, the Oregon notice question was resumed. R. M. T. Hunter, of Virginia, made a very animated speech against giving the notice, and Andrew Kennedy, of Indiana, one still more vehement in its favor; after which the House adjourned.

23d. I attended at the Capitol a meeting of the committee on the Smithsonian bequest. There were present Owen, Adams, Jenkins, Marsh, Sims, Davis, and Wilmot—all the members. The discussion was renewed upon the question whether the directors of the Institution should be constituted in express terms a corporation; for which purpose the Chairman, Owen, moved a reconsideration of the decision made at

the last meeting. It was again debated, and again decided to make it a corporation—the vote now being four to three, Owen, Chairman, changing his vote to the negative, and Sims, of South Carolina, still voting for the corporation, with the avowed intention of voting against the whole bill, and declaring his purpose to have the whole money sent back to the English Court of Chancery.

I told him that I thought that proposition came rather late, after the formal acceptance of the bequest, and the appropriation of the money to other purposes, with a formal pledge of the faith of the United States that it should be applied to the objects designated by the donor.

It was, however, the original proposition of John C. Calhoun, and will be persisted in by the South Carolina school of politics and morals to the last, without any idea of returning the money, but with the purpose of defeating any useful application of it.

I proposed a provision that all the proceeds of the bequest be placed in the possession of the Treasurer of the United States, with a direction that separate accounts of it should be kept from those of all the other accounts at the Treasury. This had been done in the Act of 1836, which the committee considered as no longer obligatory, since the investment of the fund, almost entirely, in stocks of the United States. The provision itself in the Act of 1836 was questioned, until I produced it; and the provision was now, at my motion, re-inserted in the present bill. The committee adjourned to next Friday.

In the House, Mr. Giddings rose to a qūestion of privilege. He sent to the Clerk a report in the National Intelligencer of the speech of Henry Bedinger, of Virginia, delivered on the 15th instant, requiring the Clerk to read one paragraph of it grossly insulting him (Giddings), not by name, but with reference to him equally clear. On commencing his comment, he was interrupted by the Speaker, who observed that leave had not been given him to address the House on the subject.

Vance moved that he have leave to proceed—which was carried without opposition.

Giddings said that when Bedinger had made this assault upon him he was not present in the House, and had not seen

the report till yesterday, when it first appeared in print. He then referred to a publication in the Savannah Republican, the editor of which, he said, he understood was a slave-dealer; which article, in giving an account of Bedinger's speech, had said that the only way to treat Giddings was with contempt at the Capitol, and holding him up to the scorn of the people throughout the length and breadth of the land; for that if the House should expel him he would doubtless be returned again by his constituents. He then added that in the Union newspaper of yesterday a letter purporting to be written by the New York correspondent of that newspaper urges the same course of conduct, and quotes the New York Observer, a religious paper of that city, expressing the same sentiments. Giddings remarked the coincidence between these articles of the newspaper press with the speech of Mr. Bedinger, and the fact that yesterday one of the reporters of the leading Whig paper of this city (Stansbury, reporter for the National Intelligencer) was hawking about a caricature designed to aid the more elevated calumniators in their work of detraction, in which caricature he (Giddings) was made the principal figure. He stated these facts as indications of a combination to overawe and intimidate the members of this House in the discharge of their duties to their constituents, which he thought should be known throughout the length and breadth of the land; that so far as concerned himself personally, the combination came too late—he was not sent here for personal altercation with any member of the House, nor was it in the power of any such combination to influence or injure him.

Bedinger rose, and said he was not aware that Giddings was not in his seat at the time when he made the remarks to which he had referred; that he should have used the same words if he had been in his seat; that he had as little desire of controversy with him as he on his part could desire; that although he might be ambitious, it was not of tilting windmills; that he regretted the remarks he had made only because they might have helped Giddings in obtaining notoriety.

Stansbury, the reporter of the Intelligencer, and author of the caricature complained of by Giddings, went round the

House after the adjournment, raving against Giddings, who he said had yesterday seen the caricature, and recognized himself as the principal figure in it, with a hearty laugh, as Stansbury had supposed, of approbation.

24th. The two resolutions reported by the majority of the committee, first, that Edward C. Pechell is not, and that William B. Brockenbrough is, entitled to the seat as Representative from the State of Florida, were successively carried by yeas and nays—the first one hundred and five to eighty, the second ninety-nine to eighty-five. Jacob Thompson, of Mississippi, then moved a reconsideration of these votes, and a resolution to continue the call till some day in February, for further proof. But the reconsideration was refused, by yeas and nays—eighty-six to ninety-two; and the oath of office was administered by the Speaker to Mr. Brockenbrough, after which the House adjourned. The decision in this case, as in every other case of a contested election, except one, was glaringly unjust; and that one was decided by a majority of one vote. In this case the decision was by a close party vote, and by majorities of fifteen and less, the usual majority of the dominant party being from seventy-five to eighty.

29th. The House went immediately into committee of the whole on the state of the Union, Tibbatts in the chair, and Isaac E. Holmes, of South Carolina, made an hour speech of fervid eloquence against the giving of the notice, painting all the horrors, real and imaginary, of a war with Great Britain, excepting that which at the bottom of his heart swallowed up all others—the terror of emancipation of slaves, which he foresaw as among the most probable consequences of such a war.

Next to him, Edward H. Ewing, of Nashville, Tennessee, argued also against the giving of the notice, and, for the first time, undertook to show that the American title to Oregon was very far from being clear and indisputable. He too had a proper horror for the calamities of war, though a Representative of the State from which the President of the United States comes.

Edward D. Baker, of Springfield, Illinois, succeeded, warmly in support of the notice. Joseph P. Hoge, of Galena, in the same State of Illinois, moved the committee to rise—which was

carried, and the House adjourned. As this debate proceeds, it is apparent that the President and his Administration party are faltering in the spirit which they so boldly assumed in the Baltimore Convention, which nominated Mr. Polk for the Presidency, and in his corresponding declaration of his inaugural address.

30th. Further evidence appears of the flinching of the Polk Administration upon the Oregon controversy with Great Britain. In the Union newspaper of last Tuesday there was an article strongly intimating that if a proposition should be made on the part of Great Britain to take the base of the forty-ninth degree of latitude as the boundary to the Pacific Ocean, describing it as the offer made by me, it might now be accepted. In the debate in the Senate on Wednesday, this article was referred to by Mr. Miller, a Senator from New Jersey, as very clearly indicating that Mr. Polk has no fear of war to arise from this question.

Edward A. Hannegan, Senator from Indiana, rose, and averred upon his responsibility that this article had never been seen by President Polk before its publication, and was not approved by him. The Union of this day admits the fact, but repeats the opinion expressed in the original article.

At ten o'clock this morning I attended a meeting of the select committee on the Smithsonian bequest. Present, six members—Owen, Adams, Jenkins, Sims, Davis, Wilmot; absent, Marsh, of Vermont, who afterwards told me that it was because he had forgotten the time of the meeting. Some progress—very little—was made in the discussion of Mr. Owen's bill. In the sixth section, provision is made for a superintendent to take charge of the ground, buildings, and property belonging to the Institution, and also for the appointment of a professor of agriculture, horticulture, and rural economy, and for a distribution among the people of the Union of fruits, plants, seeds, and vegetables, to be collected by this superintendent with the professor; and gardeners, practical agriculturists, and laborers to be hired from time to time by him as may be necessary.

I moved to strike out this section, which I consider as a

cumbersome, expensive, and useless burden upon the Institution. It was connected also with a further project, declared in the seventh section, for the appointment of a normal branch of the Institution, with an indefinite number of professors of common school and other scientific instruction—all which I proposed to expunge from the bill. The discussion was desultory, and, before taking the question upon it, some amendments of detail to the sixth section were proposed, and debated until the meeting of the House—when the committee adjourned to next Friday.

31st. The House went into committee of the whole on the state of the Union, Tibbatts in the chair, and took up the Oregon notice resolution. Andrew Johnson, of Tennessee, made an hour speech for earnest, in support of giving the notice, in which, much to my surprise, he completely refuted a charge against me made by Thomas H. Bayly, from Accomac, Virginia, who, by reading garbled extracts from my speech made on the 31st of January last year, had misrepresented my opinions then expressed as being inconsistent with my speech on the same subject at the present session.

Bayly, who is a beef-witted blunderhead, had borrowed this charge from some of the party newspapers, without discovering the false coloring wilfully and intentionally given by the articles in the newspapers to my speeches at the two different periods. The inconsistency imputed to me was by picking out from my last winter's speech the opposition that I had then made to the bill for organizing the Oregon Territory, reported without a section for giving notice to Great Britain of the termination of the non-occupation Convention. I had said that this would be equivalent to war, which, if thus incurred, I had foretold would prove not only disastrous, but unjust and unpopular. This morning, before the House went into committee on this subject, Johnson came to me, and, referring to the attack upon me made by Bayly, said he had understood my speech in a totally different sense, and that my objection had been made entirely to the provision for giving the previous notice of twelve months required by the Convention; and he observed that I had actually proposed as an amendment to the bill a first

section directing the notice to be given, which the House had rejected, though afterwards they had adopted a similar section at the close of the bill, moved by Hammett, of Mississippi; and that I had then said that after long deliberation, and with great reluctance, I had come to the conclusion that the time was come for giving the notice, and I was ready to vote for it, either by a separate resolution or as a first section to the Territorial bill.

I told Johnson that he perfectly understood my speech as I had then delivered it, and that it had been totally misrepresented by Mr. Bayly. I did not then know nor expect that Johnson meant to expose the misrepresentation of Mr. Bayly; but he did so in his speech, thoroughly and unsparingly. I had intended to perform that service myself—which I shall perhaps now forbear to do.

February 2d. Mr. Thomas H. Bayly, of Accomac, was permitted to make another personal explanation in reply to the speech of Andrew Johnson, of Tennessee, made last Saturday. Johnson replied again this day, and Bayly rejoined, and Johnson surrejoined, and Bayly had the last words. Much of the controversy between these two gentlemen related to me, Bayly having taunted the Democratic supporters of the notice to be given to Great Britain by the charge that they were taking me for their leader, and saying it was a lead which he was not disposed to follow. Upon this remark Johnson's answer on Saturday was very severe, and this day still more cutting. Bayly, after manifesting several times great excitement at the remarks of Johnson, finally left his seat and went out of the House. By a singular coincidence, two citizens of North Carolina, named Jones and Johnson, fought a duel this morning at Bladensburg, in which Johnson was killed; and a rumor was circulated throughout the city this day that this duel was between Bayly and Johnson, in which my champion of Tennessee had fallen.[1] Fortunately, I heard nothing of this rumor till it was ascertained to be unfounded—the only duel

[1] It is scarcely necessary to explain that this is the same Andrew Johnson who, as Vice-President, succeeded to the Presidency upon the death of President Lincoln in 1865.

between these parties this day having been, as on Saturday, merely a strife of words.

3d. At the House, James A. Black, of South Carolina, offered a joint resolution with a long preamble, authorizing the President to give notice to the British Government of the annulment of the Convention of 1827, with a proviso for further negotiations; and George C. Dromgoole, of Virginia, introduced a bill for effecting the same purpose, with an appropriation of money, the amount left in blank, and further negotiation recommended.

The object of multiplying these projects of legislation I suppose to be intended for the purpose of defeating them all—which I have little doubt is the systematic proceeding of the Polk Administration. I hinted as much in anticipation, in my speech of the 2d January; and this day Thomasson, of Kentucky, said to me, laughing, that in addition to all my other properties I should prove in this case a prophet.

9th. At the House, which I found in committee of the whole on the state of the Union, Tibbatts in the chair, and Thomas B. King, of Georgia, speaking against the resolution for giving the Oregon notice. I had scarcely taken my seat, when he addressed himself personally to me, with a charge of inconsistency for having in the years 1818 and 1827 agreed to the temporary Conventions with Great Britain concerning the Oregon region, and now declaring myself ready to put an end to that compact. He turned his face from the Speaker towards me, and asked the question why this change had come over my mind.

I had been urged for several days by sundry members of the House to address the committee on this subject, but the wretched state of my health, and the burden of affliction bearing me down at this moment, had so totally discouraged me that I entered the House with a determination to wait for the decision and give to it only an affirmative vote. This direct call from Mr. King, however, I could not resist. I rose, and said that, without admitting the right of the gentleman from Georgia to put a direct and personal question to me in that House, I was, however, ready to answer him. His question was, "Whether the title of the United States to the whole of

Oregon to latitude 54.40 was clear and indisputable." This question, I said, was susceptible of two different constructions—one with reference to right and wrong, and another with reference to fact; that as to the question of right I did hold the title of the United States to be clear and indisputable; but as to the *fact*, if everything is disputable which is disputed, I could not say that the title was indisputable, and if everything disputed by Great Britain was disputable, I thought it would be difficult to find any indisputable title without a change in the definition of words.

Mr. King replied that my answer was just such as he had expected, but that, as I held these opinions, he marvelled why I had not formally protested against any claim of title by Great Britain to Oregon in 1818 and 1827.

Without rejoining immediately, I suffered Mr. King to finish his speech, and then rose, and made myself a fragment of a speech, which was arrested, before I had half done, by the expiration of the hour. I took some notice of the disorderly manner in which Mr. King had thought proper to address himself to me in the course of the debate; whereupon he explained that he had intended nothing disrespectful, which I have no doubt was true, or disorderly, which it certainly was. I then entered upon the consideration of the title, and requested the Speaker to hand over to the Clerk the small book which he occasionally used for administering to the members of the House their solemn oaths to support the Constitution of the United States. He passed the little Bible over to the Clerk, B. B. French, who, at my request, read the twenty-sixth, twenty-seventh, and twenty-eighth verses of the first chapter of Genesis, which I said, in my judgment, contained the foundation of all human territorial rights, whether of universal domain, national jurisdiction, or individual property, from the right of the United States to the soil upon which the Capitol stood, to the seat in the chair occupied by the Speaker of the House. This was the general title of the whole human race to the whole of this globe of earth; from this all other human titles must be derived. I then requested the Clerk to read the eighth verse of the second Psalm—which he did: "Ask of me, and I shall give thee the

heathen for thine inheritance, and the uttermost parts of the earth for thy possession;" and the preceding verses declare that the speaker of this promise was God Almighty, and the person to whom the promise was made was Jesus Christ. Then, without calling on the Clerk to read, I referred to the eighteenth, nineteenth, and twentieth verses of the twenty-eighth chapter of Matthew, in which, after His resurrection from the dead, Jesus Christ spoke to His eleven disciples His last words, saying, "All power is given unto me in heaven and in earth. Go ye therefore, and teach all nations, baptizing them in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost: teaching them to observe all things whatsoever I have commanded you: and, lo, I am with you alway, even unto the end of the world. Amen." I proceeded to say that at the time of the discovery of this hemisphere by Christopher Columbus it was an article of creed of all Christian nations that the Bishop of Rome, as the successor of Saint Peter, was the vicar of Jesus Christ upon earth, and the administrator of all that power with which He had declared Himself to be invested in heaven and on earth at the time of His resurrection; and that then, and for several preceding centuries, it had been a part of the religious creed of Christendom that the right of disposing not only of uninhabited countries, and of countries only inhabited by savages, but even of all earthly kingdoms, was vested in the Pope of Rome, as the vicar and representative of Jesus Christ upon earth, and hence it was by this assumed and recognized authority that in 1493, the spring after the discovery of Columbus, Pope Alexander the Sixth gave this whole hemisphere to Ferdinand and Isabella, King and Queen of Castile, Leon, and Aragon.

I then proceeded to deduce, historically, our title to the northwest coast from latitude 42 to 54.40, till I was arrested by the expiration of the hour.

Haralson, of Georgia, immediately took the floor. Charles J. Ingersoll moved to suspend the hour rule, to give me the opportunity to conclude. But this led to a debate which terminated without suspending the rule. Haralson made his speech. Charles J. Ingersoll followed for an hour, and Cornelius Darragh, of Pennsylvania, consumed the remaining twenty

minutes till three o'clock, the hour at which it had been agreed that the debate should close. The voting then commenced, and numerous amendments were proposed, and voted upon without debate. The original resolution was amended, and a second resolution added to it recommending further negotiation, and was reported to the House, where the final vote was taken by yeas and nays—one hundred and sixty-three to fifty-four. It was read a third time, and passed. A motion to reconsider, with the previous question, was rejected, and at six o'clock in the evening the House adjourned.

10th. John H. McHenry, of Kentucky, reported from the Committee on the District of Columbia a bill to enlarge the powers of the several Orphans' Courts of the District. It related to the distribution of property. Joshua R. Giddings, of Ohio, moved an amendment of an additional section, declaring that slaves shall no longer be deemed in law to be property within the District of Columbia, and was supporting his amendment by beginning an argument—when McHenry objected to the amendment as not in order, for irrelevancy.

The Speaker, a pro-slavery Representative from the free State of Indiana, buckled close to the slave-mongers, decided that the amendment was irrelevant, and therefore not in order. Giddings appealed from this decision, and began an argument in support of his appeal. William M. Treadway, of Virginia, enquired if the appeal was debatable. The Speaker answered that it was. Richard Brodhead, from Easton, Pennsylvania, moved to lay the appeal on the table; which was carried. This decision, undoubtedly wrong, serves but to show the transcendent power here exercised over the House by the slave-representation of the South. The bill was passed.

13th. I attended the meeting of the select committee upon the Smithsonian bequest; all the members present—Owen, Adams, Jenkins, Sims, Davis, Marsh, Wilmot. Mr. Owen's bill was further discussed. The question was taken upon my motion to strike out the provision for the appointment of professors of agriculture and horticulture and for the establishment of teachers for normal schools, both of which, however, were carried by a vote of five to two. There was in the bill an

appropriation of five thousand dollars a year for the formation of a library. I moved to strike out in this section the word "five," and insert "twenty;" believing this better adapted to promote and increase the diffusion of knowledge among men than the waste of the funds to pay the expenses of schools for children—a duty which I believe incumbent upon the American people themselves, who will be disgraced by recurring to a foreigner for charges which they ought to support themselves.

My motion was, however, rejected, and the committee were prepared to report the bill as the majority of them have shaped it. A question was, however, reserved for the next meeting on Friday next.

In the day, after the passage of the resolution for giving notice on the Oregon Convention, Charles J. Ingersoll came to my seat and had some conversation with me respecting an amendment which I had proposed to him to insert in the resolution, and which he had promised to move, but had not the opportunity so to do. After he left my seat, W. P. Thomasson, of Kentucky, with a smile, said to me that another member of the House, in remarking the conversation of Mr. Ingersoll with me, had observed that it was the meeting of Pilate and Herod.

I said that this was not very complimentary; but, that if it was intended as a censure upon me for inconsistency, I would answer as Cicero had done before me upon his reconciliation after the death of Cæsar with some of the Loco-foco Tribunes with whom he had been in violent opposition and hostility—that I would wish my enmities to be transient, and my friendships to be eternal.

Thomasson was much amused at this answer, and circulated it freely in whispers round the House.

14th. Robert Smith, of Illinois, asked leave to present a resolution directing the Committee of Foreign Affairs to enquire into the expediency of reporting a joint resolution directing the President of the United States to negotiate with Spain for the purchase of the island of Cuba, upon principles recommended in the proceedings of a public meeting of the citizens of Springfield, Illinois. But objection was made, and the resolution not received.

David Levy, alias Yulee, now a Senator from the State of Florida, had already offered a similar resolution for the purchase of the island of Cuba, in the Senate, which he afterwards withdrew. These are mere explosive effusions of the spirit of aggrandizement which has taken possession of this people, and which will hereafter characterize their history. The North American continent and the archipelago of islands separating it from the Southern continent must, and will in no great distance of time, form component parts of this great confederated Anglo-Saxon republic.

20th. I attended this morning a meeting of the select committee on the Smithsonian bequest. Present, Owen, Chairman, Adams, Sims, and Jenkins. There was some further discussion upon the amendments proposed to the bill, but without coming to a conclusion. The committee adjourned to meet again next Friday, with a view then to direct the Chairman to report the bill as amended. I said I should not object to this, but should not hold myself bound to support it in the House. Mr. Sims said that his objection to it as unconstitutional remained in full force in his mind.

In the House, the bill for curtailing the mileage pay of Senators was resumed. A motion for the previous question was pending, on which there was no quorum voting. Haralson, of Georgia, moved a call of the House, which was commenced, and, a large quorum answering to their names, was superseded. An amendment moved yesterday by Jacob Thompson, of Mississippi, was rejected, and the rule was passed, by yeas and nays—one hundred and forty-one to ten.

I voted against it, believing that it will sleep in the Senate or be returned to the House with an amendment touching the constructive pay of the members of the House, which will be sure to demolish the bill. It is the constant practice of many members of the House to absent themselves without leave for days, weeks, and sometimes months, and yet receiving pay as if they attended regularly every day of the session. And this is the body of economists so severely prohibiting (mileage) and constructive pay to members of the Senate!

The steamer Cambria arrived from Liverpool. It brings

Queen Victoria's speech at the opening of Parliament on the 22d of January. A total revolution is announced in the commercial policy of Great Britain. The Ministry of Sir Robert Peel is restored, after their resignation and an abortive attempt by Lord John Russell to form another Ministry. The corn laws are to be immediately repealed, totally, or gradually in the course of three years. The complexion of the intelligence is altogether pacific and conciliatory. Mr. Pakenham's rejection of the proposition made by Mr. Buchanan, to divide the Oregon by the forty-ninth parallel of latitude, without referring it to his Government, has been formally disapproved both by Sir Robert Peel and Lord John Russell in the House of Commons. The report of our Secretary of the Treasury on the state of the finances, of the 3d of December last, has been highly extolled for its exposition of the principles of free trade, and ordered to be printed, in the House of Peers, for the use of its members —a token of approbation without example.

It is evident that the Oregon question will be settled by the repeal of the corn laws and the sacrifice of the American tariff; a bargain, both sides of which will be for the benefit of England, and to our disadvantage; a purchase of peace, the value of which can only be tested by the lapse of time.

21st. William L. Yancey, of Alabama, moved twice that when the House adjourned it should be till Tuesday, the 24th, in honor of the memory of Washington, whose birthday occurs this year on Sunday, the 22d, and is to be kept as a festival on the ensuing day. Yancey failed in his first attempt, and succeeded in his second.

Committee of the whole on private bills, Samuel F. Vinton, of Ohio, in the Chair. Among the bills was one granting commutation of half-pay to the heirs of Colonel William Grayson, which was earnestly opposed by Henry S. Clark, of North Carolina, Jacob Collamer, of Vermont, and Jacob Brinkerhoff, of Ohio.

I took part in this discussion by bearing testimony to the merit and services of Colonel Grayson, to whom in the year 1785 I brought a letter of introduction from Mr. Jefferson, then Minister of the United States in France. Mr. Grayson

was then a member of the Confederation Congress in session at New York—Richard Henry Lee, of Virginia, being then President of Congress, in whose house I passed several weeks as a member of his family, and where I frequently met Colonel Grayson. My testimony was not to the special merits of the claim, but to those of him whose heirs are now the claimants. The committee rose without coming to any decision; and the House adjourned over to Tuesday.

23d. We had no interruption of visitors, and beguiled the time in the evening by reading the European news brought by the steamer Cambria, which arrived at Boston last Wednesday. By the same vessel I received a speech in pamphlet of M. Thiers in the French House of Deputies, addressed to me by Mr. William R. King, Minister of the United States in France at this time. Mr. Dix, the Senator from the State of New York, had also sent me the Courrier des États-Unis of the 6th of July, 1845, which contains a speech of the French Minister of Foreign Affairs, M. Guizot, to the House of Deputies, in June last, explaining his system of policy, and the principles upon which the Governments of France and Great Britain had interfered in the affairs of the continent, and especially to prevent the annexation of Texas to this Union.

President Polk, in his message at the commencement of the present session of Congress, complained of this interference on the part of France, and boasted that the measure had been accomplished in spite of it.

M. Guizot's system openly avows that France has an interest and a right to hold the balance of power between the three great powers of the American hemisphere—the United States, England, and the states of Spanish origin—and he maintains that it is the interest of France to support an equilibrium between them. To this system of policy the people of this Union cannot assent; and M. Thiers, in his speech of 20th January last, assails it as a total departure from the ancient and undeviating system pursued, as he asserts, towards the United States of America by France from the period of the American Revolution. That policy, he says, had always been to favor the aggrandizement of the United States with reference to Great

Britain, and yet to hold a balance between them; that Great Britain was the natural rival and antagonist of France, but that there never could be antagonism of principle or of policy between France and the United States; that it was absurd and ridiculous that there ever could be a hostile policy or a rational fear of the United States on the part of France, and therefore that the true policy of France was at all times to favor the prosperity of the United States and their aggrandizement in America. He thought, therefore, that the President of the United States had complained not without reason of the principle of equilibrium asserted by M. Guizot. "Gentlemen," said he, "I acknowledge, to my shame, I have for a very long time studied the map of the world, and the interests crossing each other upon it. Well, I declare to this House it is the first time in my life that I ever heard pronounced the words 'American equilibrium.' Never, never, to my knowledge, was it pronounced by any statesman."

The report of the speech says that this produced a movement in the Chamber of Deputies; and well it might. M. Guizot's equilibrium should produce a movement more extensive than in the House of Deputies in France. M. Thiers admits the European balance of power, but denies its extension to the American hemisphere, and refers to Mr. Winthrop's speech at this session of Congress as an evidence that he, in recommending an arbitration for the settlement of the Oregon question with England, did not venture to recommend a European crowned head as the arbitrator, which he (M. Thiers) attributes to his disgust at M. Guizot's system of equilibrium.

27th. At ten o'clock this morning I attended a meeting of the select committee on the Smithsonian bequest. Present, Owen, Chairman, Adams, Sims, Jenkins, Marsh, and Jefferson Davis; absent, Wilmot. The Chairman, conformably to the order adopted at the last meeting, had prepared a report to be submitted with the bill to the House. It contained a statement of the embezzlement of the fund by investing it in the stocks of the States of Arkansas, Illinois, and Michigan. I had moved to have this statement made and provided for in the bill; but, excepting Mr. Marsh, no other member of the com-

mittee would consent to it. They were unwilling to uncover the nakedness of the States. They consented, however, with reluctance, to have it made in the report, which Mr. Owen had rather awkwardly done, with an expression of the opinion of the committee that there would be no ultimate loss to the United States of the funds thus invested.

I moved to strike out of the report this expression of confidence, which I could not honestly avow. It was accordingly struck out, leaving a bare statement of the facts to be made.

The Chairman was directed, in presenting the report and bill, to move that they should be printed and made the special order of the day for the second Tuesday in April. The committees of the House upon this subject have heretofore been unanimous in the reports—all which have been made by me. But the House has never been prevailed upon to take them into consideration. In this committee no two members, excepting Mr. Marsh and myself, have agreed in opinion with regard to the future management of the fund. I doubt if there will be more harmony in the House, for never was there a benevolent and charitable purpose more unfortunately endowed than that of James Smithson, entrusted to the good faith and intelligence of the North American Congress.

March 18th. The Senate have expelled from their hall the reporters of the newspaper published in this city called The Daily Times, for certain charges against certain nameless Senators of having corrupt dealings with the British Minister, Pakenham, for a compromise of the Oregon question. A few days since, the House of Representatives expelled from their reporters' seats the correspondents of the New York newspaper called The Tribune, for exposing to ridicule the manners, and not the character, of William Sawyer, a member of the House from Ohio. This sickly sensibility to the animadversions of the press, manifested by arbitrary acts of power, unchecked by judicial control, seems to be common to all deliberative assemblies, and always terminates to their disadvantage.

George C. Dromgoole, of Virginia, moved to go into committee of the whole on the state of the Union to take up the River and Harbor bill; which was done. The voting upon

the amendments was resumed. A multitude of amendments were proposed—some of them in derision, and for very unwarrantable sport—among them, one by George Fries, of Ohio, grossly and personally insulting to his colleague Schenck, which occasioned an altercation, and a retort from Schenck, upon which a full hour of the House was wasted and the time disgracefully lost.

The yeas and nays were taken upon numerous amendments: the first, upon a provision of five thousand dollars for removing the obstructions from the harbor at Providence, Rhode Island, upon which Linn Boyd, of Kentucky, called for the yeas and nays, and it was carried—ninety-nine to ninety-six. The appropriation of fifteen thousand dollars for removing the obstructions in Newark Bay, New Jersey, was also carried, by yeas and nays—ninety-eight to eighty-nine. Crozier, of Tennessee, had moved an item of one hundred thousand dollars for the Mussel Shoals; which was lost, by yeas and nays—sixty-five to one hundred and twenty-five; and thereupon Crozier, who had voted for the appropriation of five thousand dollars for Providence Harbor, moved a reconsideration of that vote; which was lost, by yeas and nays—ninety-five to one hundred and two. This is a specimen of the slave-monger system of internal improvements. Half-past three o'clock the House adjourned.

24th. The resolution offered by Hugh A. Haralson last evening at the adjournment, to close the debate for raising two additional regiments of riflemen, and for other purposes, at three o'clock this day, and after an ineffectual motion of R. W. Roberts to lay it on the table, was adopted without a division. Haralson immediately moved to go into committee; which was carried. Felix G. McConnell moved to lay the bill aside and take up another; but the Chairman, McKay, declared this not in order, and a debate ensued, and continued until three o'clock, when the voting commenced upon the amendments proposed to the bill, one of which was rejected and another adopted.

While the process was going on of taking these votes by tellers, Robert C. Winthrop came to my seat and told me he

should vote for this bill. I said I regretted again to part from him, for I had come to the determination to vote against it—the Senate not having acted upon the bill for giving notice to the British Government of the termination of the Convention of 1827, and the balance of probability now being that the Senate would not pass it at all.

He said that a message had just been received in the Senate from the President, in answer to a resolution of that body offered some days since by Mr. Dayton, in which the President declares explicitly that in his judgment the present position of the country does require an addition to its armed force.

Hereupon I rose and moved that the committee should rise, to enable me to move in the House a reconsideration of the vote by which it had been determined to take the bill out of committee at three o'clock this day. An immediate and violent opposition was made to my motion, with loud calls to order. I asked leave to state my reason for the motion I had made; but the objections and calls to order continued and increased, during which I made out to give my reason—which was, that a message had been received in the Senate from the President which in all probability would decide my vote, and perhaps that of the House, upon the bill. The struggle against granting me the leave to assign my reasons was so vociferous and peremptory that the Chairman, McKay, without taking the question upon it, said that he had been mistaken in supposing that the committee had assented to give me the leave, and ordered me to take my seat; which I did.

Tellers were then called upon my motion for the committee to rise, and eighty-two members were reported by the tellers in the affirmative. This was a majority of the voters present, and the committee rose. The Chairman said that the resolution in the House did not require that the question upon the bill should be taken this day; that it might be still debated in the House. I replied that it came to the same thing; that if the bill should be reported, the previous question would be called and the question upon the bill immediately taken.

The committee having risen, I made my motion for reconsideration of the vote for taking the bill out of committee

this day. Thomasson, of Kentucky, and Albert Smith, of New York, immediately moved to adjourn. George W. Jones, of Tennessee, enquired of the Speaker if I had voted for the resolution which I now moved to reconsider. The Speaker said that this question would be in order when the motion to reconsider should come up. I had voted against the resolution, and, according to the rules of the House, was not competent to make the motion to reconsider; but my object was attained by the rising of the committee and the adjournment of the House, which immediately followed. We shall know the purport of the President's message to the Senate before taking the final vote on the bill.

25th. Morning visit from Mr. Robert Owen, who told me that he should leave the city to-morrow, about to embark for England, where he proposed to use his best exertions for procuring the amicable adjustment of the differences existing between the Government of that country and the United States; and he enquired if I had read an article signed by him in the National Intelligencer of this morning. I had seen his signature, but passed over the article, taking it for the repetition of one published some days since.

He told me the substance of it, which was that a final settlement should be made with the least loss of time on the base of the forty-ninth degree of latitude to the Pacific, with Vancouver's Island to the British, and the free navigation of the Columbia River for ten years. He hoped that I would concur with him in this opinion.

I told him that I wished him all possible success in his exertions to preserve the peace between the two countries, which I believed to be in no sort of danger, but that as to the terms of settlement the whole range of my ideas, both as to right and expediency, was directly the reverse of his; that I believed our right to latitude 54.40 in the South Sea was perfect, with the single exception of actual possession; that Great Britain had no right there of permanent possession at all; that with regard to war and peace, considered in the abstract, I agreed with him, and, with all the benevolent and humane throughout the world, I held it in utter abhorrence, as much so as the Roman mothers

in the days of Horace and of Augustus Cæsar; but that there are, and always have been as long as the race of men has existed, times and occasions of dire necessity for war; and, philosophically speaking, I believed that war was not a corrupter, but rather a purifier, of the moral character of man; that peace was the period of corruption to the human race. And I asked him if he recollected the passage of the Paradise Lost, in which the Archangel Michael after the fall of Adam foretells to him the fortunes of his posterity in war and peace. After describing to him all the horrors of war, he draws before him a picture of his condition in peace; and such it is that Adam, in contemplating it, says:

> "I had hope
> When violence was ceased, and war on earth,
> All would have then gone well, peace would have crown'd
> With length of happy days the race of man.
> But I was far deceived, for now I see
> Peace to corrupt, no less than war to waste."

Mr. Owen did not recollect the passage in Milton, probably never having read it; and he expatiated upon his anticipations of the universal revolution started by him and now in progress, and which will soon transform and exalt the nature of man to be governed by the laws of God, and not by circumstances and the laws of man. He thought that his purposes and mine were the same—the ultimate improvement and exaltation of the nature of man and his condition upon earth; but the means by which we believe this revolution is to be effected are widely different.

Mr. Owen's visit delayed my departure for the Capitol, so that when I reached the House I found them in session, having laid on the table my motion to reconsider the vote for taking the bill out of committee yesterday, no longer necessary, and they were already in committee of the whole on the state of the Union, taking the questions on the several amendments to the bill for raising two additional regiments of riflemen. A substitute for the bill itself had already been adopted, authorizing the President at his discretion to increase the number of privates in each company of the existing regiments of dragoons,

artillery, and infantry to any number not exceeding eighty—the enlistment to be for three years, unless sooner disbanded by the President. The bill was thus reported to the House. Joseph McDowell, of Ohio, moved to lay it on the table; which was rejected, by yeas and nays—thirty-two to one hundred and forty-nine, and then the bill was passed, by yeas and nays—one hundred and sixty-four to fifteen.

April 8th. I have been several days occupying my leisure in answering a letter from Joseph Sturge, of Birmingham, in England, complaining of my speech on the Oregon question, and charging me with inflaming the temper of my countrymen to war. Sturge is a Quaker, and a leading member of the English Abolition Society. His motives are good, and his character highly respectable. I have therefore, disclaiming all intention to kindle war upon this question, and professing a full concurrence with him in abhorrence of all aggressive war, marked the distinction which should be made between that sentiment and the unqualified denunciation of war peculiar to the doctrines of the Society of Friends, to which I cannot subscribe. The question of war and peace is identical with the question of right and wrong: war for the right can never be justly blamed; war for the wrong can never be justified.

In the House, immediately after the reading of the journal, Jacob Brinkerhoff moved to go into committee of the whole on the state of the Union, but withdrew the motion at my request, to introduce a resolution calling on the President to cause to be communicated to the House, if not incompatible with public interest, copies of the correspondence of George William Gordon, late Consul of the United States at Rio de Janeiro, with the Department of State, relating to the slave-trade in vessels and by citizens of the United States between the coast of Africa and Brazil; which resolution was adopted without opposition.

13th. The House went into committee of the whole on the state of the Union, and took up the bill to protect the rights of American settlers in the Territory of Oregon until the termination of the joint occupation of the same, Hannibal Hamlin, of Maine, in the chair. The bill extends the jurisdiction of

the Territory of Iowa over the whole of Oregon, without limitation of boundary, beyond the Rocky Mountains. John H. McHenry, of Kentucky, moved to insert the words "south of forty-nine degrees north." This gave rise to a long debate, in which I took part, observing that if the limitation was south of 54.40 I would vote for it, but was willing to leave it without specific limitation to the north. I referred again to my former voucher of the first chapter of Genesis as the foundation of titles to lands, and produced Grotius and Blackstone as referring to the same identical authority—Genesis i. 26–30. I produced also in the first volume of the Laws of the United States, page 448, the commission of George the Third to Governor Wright, of Georgia, of the 20th January, 1764, reciting his commission of the 4th of May, 1761, to the same person, revoking the first commission, extending the boundaries of that colony to the South Sea, and establishing the boundaries of the second as far as our territories extend, Great Britain having in the interval, by treaties with France and Spain, bounded her territories on this continent by the Mississippi. I presented also the diversities of expression in the Northern Sound Convention, in our Convention with Great Britain in 1818 and 1827, to show that Great Britain had not a shadow of right to any exclusive territorial jurisdiction on the shores of the Pacific Ocean. The committee rose without coming to a question.

14th. Took this morning my answer to Joseph Sturge, of Birmingham, England, to the Department of State, with a request that it might be forwarded to Mr. Louis McLane, our Minister in England, to be transmitted by him to Mr. Sturge. I had a long conversation with Mr. Buchanan upon the occasional expenditure of the secret-service money, and upon Mr. Buchanan's desire to obtain an Act of Congress constituting an Assistant Secretary of State. I stated to him my objections to this measure, upon general considerations, and the imminent danger of finding in a department with two heads a house divided against itself. I particularly referred him to the result of an experiment to establish an Assistant Secretary of the Treasury at the first organization of the present Government of the United States, and the crosses between Alexander Hamil-

ton and Tench Coxe, till the office of Assistant Secretary was abolished.

22d. At the House, the bill to establish the Smithsonian Institution for the increase and diffusion of knowledge among men was taken up in committee of the whole on the state of the Union—Armistead Burt, of South Carolina, in the chair. It was read through for information, and then taken up by sections for amendment.

George W. Jones, of Tennessee, moved to strike out the first section; that is, to reject the bill.

Robert Dale Owen delivered an hour speech in support of the bill, dwelling chiefly upon the parts of it appropriating funds for the education and training of teachers for normal schools throughout the Union—in my opinion the worst feature of the bill.

Jones's objection was chiefly to the organization of the Trustees of the fund as a corporation, which he contended was not within the constitutional power of Congress to create. After Owen's speech, Jones withdrew his motion to strike out the first section, and moved to amend by a section authorizing the whole bequest to be returned to the heirs at law, or next of kin, or residuary legatees, of Smithson, or their authorized agents, whenever they shall demand the same. That is to say, to deliver to them the State bonds of the State of Arkansas, Illinois, and Michigan, upon which neither interest nor principal is, or is soon likely to be, paid. This is Mr. Jones's favorite mode of disposing of a fund accepted by the Congress of the United States with the pledge of their faith that it should be appropriated to the purposes prescribed by the donor. This motion was discussed by the mover, by Joseph R. Ingersoll, by F. P. Stanton, of Tennessee, by William Sawyer, of Ohio, and by Jefferson Davis, of Mississippi; after which the committee rose without coming to a conclusion.

23d. At the House, Linn Boyd moved a resolution to close debate in committee of the whole on the state of the Union on the Smithsonian Bequest bill in half an hour after taking it up in committee. Joseph R. Ingersoll pleaded for an hour and a half. James Graham, of North Carolina, moved to lay

the resolution on the table; which was done, and the House went into committee again, Armistead Burt in the chair, and resumed the consideration of the bill.

Charles J. Ingersoll informed the House that the managers of the conference upon the notice of disagreement had unanimously agreed upon a report, but that it could not be communicated to this House until it should have been acted upon in the Senate.

George P. Marsh, of Vermont, made an hour speech upon the Smithsonian Bequest bill—one of the best speeches ever delivered in the House, but not much in support of the bill. His desire is to apply a very large portion of the annual interest upon the fund to the establishment of a public library.

Isaac E. Morse, of Louisiana, followed, to whom Owen replied, and was followed by John S. Chipman, of Michigan, against the bill. The committee rose, and Owen moved a resolution to close the debate in committee of the whole. Joseph R. Ingersoll moved to amend by inserting three hours; but the resolution itself was laid on the table—ninety-three to forty-four. Owen asked if a resolution allowing an hour and a half would be acceptable.

I requested him not to renew the question in any form, as I wished to offer a substitute for the whole bill. Objection was made to this. I moved a suspension of the rules—which was carried. I proposed my substitute which I had prepared this morning; it was referred to the committee of the whole on the state of the Union, and ordered to be printed. The consideration of the bill was then postponed to next Monday.

27th. In the British House of Commons, on the 20th of last month, Lord George Bentinck, a son of the Duke of Portland, charged me by name for, blasphemously, he would say, calling to my aid the word of God as a justification for lighting up fire-brands and unleashing the hell-hounds of war on, as he called it, "*our*" Territory of Oregon; and he proceeded to say "that if it came to this, that the Bible should be quoted for the title of the Americans to the Oregon Territory, he trusted he would be enabled to address the Americans in the language of British thunder from the broadsides of a line-of-battle ship." ("Hear! hear!")

The report of this debate is republished in several newspapers of this country, and particularly in the Baltimore Sun of last Thursday, the 23d instant. I deem it my duty to reply to this charge, and, if possible, in my seat in the House of Representatives. But, if done at all, it must be done with great deliberation, and in a written speech. I began this morning the draft of this speech; and I pray to God for resolution, decision, and discretion to go through the fiery ordeal of accomplishing it.

At the House, Charles J. Ingersoll asked leave to make a personal explanation, upon which objection being made, he moved and carried a suspension of the rules. George Ashmun said he wished to move an amendment to Ingersoll's motion; which the Speaker said could not be done.

The suspension was carried by yeas and nays—one hundred and two to twenty-five—and Ingersoll delivered a new written attack upon Daniel Webster for corruption and embezzlement of public money and delinquency in the settlement of his accounts as Secretary of State. He concluded by asking for a committee, which, he said, he could not institute, to test the truth of his statements.

Ashmun asked leave to reply, and, upon objection made, the rules were again suspended—one hundred and twenty-five to twenty-two—and Ashmun did reply, by a defence of Mr. Webster, and retorted charges against Charles J. Ingersoll, in which process he was repeatedly interrupted by calls to order, not sustained by the Speaker, and grossly insulted by foul language of charges of lying and cowardice from Ingersoll.

In the course of this debate the Speaker decided that when all the rules of the House were suspended the Parliamentary law of England was still obligatory upon this House. I called upon him for his authority in making this decision. He said it was my own, appealing to a decision which he said I had made while presiding over the House at the first session of the Twenty-Sixth Congress. I denied having ever made such a decision; and he did not attempt to produce it. I cannot find upon the journal of the House of that session any question

decided by me which the Speaker could even construe into a precedent for his decision of this day.

Upon Mr. Ashmun's pressing some of his charges against Charles J. Ingersoll, he went over to implore the assistance of his brother Joseph to extricate him from trouble—which he did, as far as he was able, with great propriety and sensibility.

This discreditable scene closed with a resolution offered by Mr. Schenck, of Ohio, for the appointment of a committee of five members to investigate the question, how, and in what manner, and by whom, Charles J. Ingersoll had obtained secret documents from the Department of State, and report to the House, as soon as practicable, the result of their investigation; and by the appointment of another committee, also of five members, to enquire into the truth of the charges made by Charles J. Ingersoll against Daniel Webster, with a view to founding an impeachment against him.

The appointment of both committees was carried, and both have power to call for persons or papers, books and vouchers.

28th. Committee of the whole on the state of the Union, Armistead Burt in the chair, on the Smithsonian Bequest bill. Sims, of South Carolina, opposed the bill in every shape and form it could assume. He held Congress had no power by the Constitution to accept such a trust, and was for returning the money to the Chancery of England.

I made a desultory speech in support of the substitute proposed by me for the bill. They were both debated till the committee rose without coming to a conclusion, and other amendments were proposed. George W. Hopkins, of Virginia, moved a resolution to close the debate in committee of the whole in one hour after it should be next taken up—which was carried, by means of the previous question, and the House adjourned.

May 11th. A message from the President of the United States to both Houses of Congress was received this morning, after the House had been one hour in session. It occupied about half an hour in the reading, recommending, not in direct terms, but by circumlocution, a declaration of war against Mexico. It begins with a reference to the state of the relations

between the two countries presented in the annual message at the commencement of the session, and then relates the series of events, diplomatic and military, which have since occurred and brought on a state of hostility now existing between them. A voluminous correspondence accompanied the message.

When it was received, the House was in committee of the whole on the state of the Union, Samuel Gordon, of the Tenth Congressional District of New York, in the chair, upon the Military Academy Appropriation bill, against which William Sawyer, of the Fifth Congressional District of Ohio, was playing off his Democratic artillery. On the receipt of the message the committee immediately rose. The message and part of the accompanying documents were read, and, after some altercation as to the mode of disposing of them, they were ordered to be printed and referred to the committee of the whole on the state of the Union.

The House went immediately into that committee, at the motion of Hugh A. Haralson, of Georgia, Chairman of the Committee on Military Affairs, George W. Hopkins, of Virginia, in the chair. They immediately took up Bill No. 145, reported from the committee, authorizing the President to accept the service of volunteers, not exceeding fifty thousand men, with an appropriation of ten millions of dollars. A long debate ensued, numerous amendments were proposed, a distinction between war and hostilities much discussed, and numerous efforts made to shape a declaration of war against Mexico —one of which finally succeeded. A motion was soon made by Jacob Brinkerhoff, of Ohio, that the committee rise for a resolution to close the debate in two hours; upon which resolution the yeas and nays were demanded and refused. At the end of the two hours the bill was reported to the House with the amendment declaring war, by a long preamble adopted at the motion of Linn Boyd, and was passed, by yeas and nays —one hundred and seventy-four to fourteen; Amos Abbott and Robert C. Winthrop, of Massachusetts, voting for this declaration of war.

Of the fourteen besides myself, Ashmun, Grinnell, Hudson, and Daniel P. King were five; Benjamin Thompson and Julius

Rockwell were absent. There is one vacancy in the delegation from Massachusetts. Thus only one-half of the delegation from Massachusetts voted for this most unrighteous war.

Garrett Davis, of Kentucky, asked to be excused from voting, for which he assigned reasons perfectly conclusive against the war, and finally withdrew his motion to be excused, and voted for the bill. Thomas H. Bayly, of Virginia, did the same, Elias B. Holmes, of New York, and Albert Smith, of the same State, also voted for the bill, protesting against the preamble as base, fraudulent, and false; which preamble contained the declaration of war. And thus the bill was passed, and the House adjourned.

12th. At the meeting after the recess, a letter was presented to the House from John Pettit, Chairman of the select committee of investigation for the impeachment of Daniel Webster, stating that after having been refused the service of a clerk, for that committee, by the House, he had concluded to refuse to serve any longer on that committee, and therefore asked again to be excused, and that another person may be appointed in his place. He was accordingly excused, and Seaborn Jones, of Georgia, was appointed in his place.

Pettit was the mover for this committee, with the avowed purpose of impeachment of Mr. Webster. Having carried that motion, the real purpose of which was to force the production of the secret papers in the Department of State, he takes the first opportunity to get excused from serving on the committee, well knowing that no impeachable matter will be obtained by the investigation, but trusting that the publication of the secret papers would operate injuriously upon the reputation of Webster in the public mind. The whole of this transaction affords an exemplification of the manner in which the secrets of this Government are divulged by the operation of factious parties and malicious personal enmities.

13th. At the House, Isaac E. Holmes, of South Carolina, Chairman of the Committee of Naval Affairs, presented a communication from the Secretary of the Treasury in relation to the engineers for the revenue marine service. Holmes moved to discharge the committee of the whole House from the con-

sideration of a bill upon this subject, referred to them, and take it up and pass it in the House; which was accordingly done, though in direct defiance of a rule of the House, that all matters touching appropriations of money shall be first considered in committee of the whole.

This committee of the whole is, in our theory of legislation, the great security for the freedom of speech and of debate upon all subjects before the House; but it is becoming little more than a dead letter by this evasive practice of referring subjects to the committee and then discharging the committee from the consideration of them without consideration at all. This, together with the other recent practice of limiting the time for debate in committee of the whole, takes away all the benefit of free debate intended by that organization of the rules.

19th. I have received a letter from Charles Phillips, dated on the 12th instant, Secretary of the Historical Society of the University of North Carolina, at Chapel Hill, enclosing two printed papers—one, the first report of that Society, of which Mr. Phillips is the Secretary, of the 4th June, 1845, and the other a printed circular letter of the 5th of September, 1845, signed by David L. Swain, eight members of the Executive Committee, and the Secretary—Mr. Phillips's letter referring to page 275 of the appendix to the first volume of my father's letters, published by my son. The note, B, Thoughts on Government, states that the manuscript of my father, communicated in 1776 to the Legislature of North Carolina, has been recently presented to that Society by Miss Burke, a daughter of Mr. Burke, who was in 1776 Chairman of the committee appointed to project a Constitution, and afterwards Governor of the State; that he died in 1783, and that it is almost certain that from that year up to 1845 the boxes which contained his papers remained unopened; they were then presented by Miss Burke to the Historical Society; and that among them was discovered one endorsed in Governor Burke's handwriting, "John Adams—Thoughts on Government."

Mr. Phillips, on the part of the Historical Society, tenders me a copy of this paper, and, remarking that the Society has been in existence only two years, in very obliging terms pro-

poses to place my name on its records as its first honorary member. I am extremely gratified with the reappearance of these "Thoughts on Government," though doubtless only a copy of the letter to George Wythe, published in my son's collection and many times before.

20th. At the House, the Speaker decided that a resolution proposed yesterday by Haralson, Chairman of the Committee on Military Affairs, for an appropriation of money to purchase a book of tactics and the Articles of War for the use of volunteers, was not in order, because every appropriation from the Treasury must, by the Constitution, be made by law—that is, by bill, and not by resolution. This decision was correct; but these appropriations by resolution are so frequently occurring that this principle of the Constitution will very soon be broken down entirely. It has already in more than one instance been violated, and was especially so in one case in the Twenty-Seventh Congress, against which I remonstrated in vain.

23d. The bill for the allowance of bounty for the fishing-schooner Florilla, lost at sea, was read the third time, and, on taking the question by yeas and nays, the Speaker announced the vote seventy-seven to seventy-six, and declared the bill to be passed. Daniel asked if the Speaker had voted; and he answered, No. Daniel enquired whether if he had voted it would have changed the result. He answered, No. Now, if he had voted against the bill it would have made a tie, and the bill would have been lost. Some time afterwards the Speaker said that upon re-examining the vote the Clerk had discovered that it had been a tie—seventy-seven to seventy-seven—and that he voted himself, making the vote seventy-seven to seventy-eight, and rejecting the bill.

This is a perfect exemplification of the characteristic discriminations of John W. Davis, the present Speaker of the House of Representatives. If his vote would have rejected the bill by making a tie, he would not have given it; but when the bill was rejected by a tie he would have added his own vote to make the assurance of rejection doubly sure. Some question was made whether, after the announcement that the bill was passed, it was not too late—especially by such a questionable

procedure—to reverse the decision. Other objections were made to the voting of the Speaker, but without any result except to show his passion for the strongest side.

28th. I had received a letter from D. G. Ingraham, of Boston, asking for a copy of my correspondence with the late William Tudor, Junior, in May, 1822, relating to the purchase of his father's journals for the library of the Department of State. These journals contain the most authentic account of the discovery of the Columbia River by Captain Robert Gray. I called at the Department of State this morning and made enquiry of the Secretary, Mr. Buchanan, concerning that correspondence—which was immediately found, and of which he promised me a copy.

I had also a conversation with him relating to the usages of the Department with regard to allowing access to members of Congress to the secret archives of the Department. I found the practice had continued as it was during my time; but Mr. Buchanan expressed an opinion, with which I concurred, that it had now become necessary to establish some restriction upon the unlimited access of members of Congress to all the secret papers of the Department. The recent abuse of that privilege by Charles J. Ingersoll has shown that some such restriction will be indispensable in future.

Committee of the whole on the state of the Union; the resolutions of thanks to General Taylor and his troops were taken up. James A. Black, of South Carolina, offered an additional resolution for pensioning the wounded officers and soldiers—which was opposed by Burt, of the same State, as fixing upon the country a gigantic pension system. The debate slid into a contest upon merits and demerits of the West Point Academy.

Ashmun objected to one of the resolutions containing an appropriation, as unconstitutional.

Brinkerhoff appealed to a precedent in which there was no appropriation.

I referred, as I have done many times before, to the express terms of the Constitution, to show that no appropriation of money can be made by resolution.

Brodhead appealed to the precedent at this session in the

resolution for the admission of Texas—which I said was only one additional violation of the Constitution.

The Chairman decided that no appropriation could be made by resolution. Charles J. Ingersoll said that Chief-Justice Marshall had decided that a joint resolution was to all intents and purposes a law. Boyd, the Chairman, said that his decision was otherwise, Chief-Justice Marshall to the contrary notwithstanding. But Ingersoll's assertion was not true.

Brinkerhoff appealed from the decision of the Chair; Black, of South Carolina, had done so already. Sawyer, of Ohio, and Jefferson Davis, of Mississippi, snarled about the West Point Academy. Luther Severance made a speech in justification of his vote against the declaration of war; to which Barclay Martin, of Tennessee, replied, with usual slave-monger brutality. Giddings took the floor. Hudson moved that the committee rise; carried—eighty-nine to thirty-four.

June 2d. I received yesterday from Messrs. H. P. and W. C. Taylor several articles of the manufacture of soap as a present, with a very polite and obliging letter. These persons are manufacturers of that article, and among those who are exhibiting articles from their manufacture at the fair in this city.

I answered their letter this day, and accepted their present, not without reluctance, but considering it of too small pecuniary value to object against it upon a principle. I was inclined to ask them to receive payment for it; but my wife shamed me out of that fancy, and I merely accepted it with thanks. My principle has always been to refuse all presents offered to me as a public man; but, where the value is very small, I thought it would be ridiculous to make a point upon it. It has not always been easy for me to draw the line of distinction. Mr. Jefferson, in a letter to Leavitt Harris, declared his principle to be the same with that which I have always observed; and, in conformity with it, he accepted from Harris a plaster bust of the Emperor Alexander, which might be worth ten dollars.

6th. Haralson, Chairman of the Military Committee, renewed the motion yesterday made to appoint a member of that committee in the place of Archibald Yell, of Arkansas, who has left this city, not intending to return during the present session.

Jacob Brinkerhoff, of Ohio, said that Edward D. Baker, of Illinois, another member of the same committee, had gone off in the same way, both of them intending to raise troops to go as volunteers to the war against Mexico.

After some discussion on the irregularity of this proceeding, Haralson moved to excuse Yell from further service on the Military Committee; which was adopted.

The Speaker said that he would have it so entered on the journal that it should not be referred to as a precedent hereafter.

Both of these members have gone away without notice to the House, and without intending to return. This, though in direct violation of a rule of the House, and a gross violation of the duty of the member to his constituents and to his country, has become a very general practice; and the motive for it is as mean as the practice itself is vicious. The rule is that no member shall absent himself from the service of the House without its permission; but if he asks and obtains permission, his pay is suspended during his absence. If he goes without permission, his pay continues without suspension; and members absent themselves for weeks, and sometimes for months, and receive pay as if their attendance had been without interruption.

July 11th. I enter upon my eightieth year, with thanksgiving to God for all the blessings and mercies which His providence has bestowed upon me throughout a life extended now to the longest term allotted to the life of man; with supplication for the continuance of those blessings and mercies to me and mine, as long as it shall suit the dispensations of His wise providence, and for resignation to His will when my appointed time shall come.

13th. I rose this morning with the dawn, and, drawn by an irresistible impulse, walked over the lower Tiber bridge to my old bathing-spot on the margin of the Potomac, and where, under the shelter of the high bluff yet remaining, I bathed and swam from five to ten minutes, came out, dressed myself, and walked home. As I went down the hill to the edge of the water, I found three young men, neither of whom I knew, already in the river, and heard one of them say, "There is John Quincy Adams." They had their clothes at one of my

old standard rocks; but, without noticing or disturbing them, I found another rock a few rods higher, towards the Potomac bridge, where I left my clothes. The tide was low, and the time not convenient for entering the river, but I succeeded in obtaining the bath for which I panted. The time consumed was, as in former days, about one hour and a half—half an hour going to the river, half an hour to bathe, swim, and dress, and half an hour to return. The thermometer was at eighty-four, the water warm, the atmosphere calm, and the sun clear.

14th. A bill for the improvement of the Ohio, Missouri, Mississippi, and Arkansas inland seas—a notable device of the political mountebank John C. Calhoun—came up. Hannibal Hamlin, of Maine, moved to lay it on the table. The Speaker said that on the first reading of a bill, if opposed, the only question was, Shall the bill be rejected? whereupon Hamlin moved that it be rejected. Rathbun moved the previous question—carried. Jacob Thompson moved a call of the House. The Speaker said it was too late, the previous question having been seconded. The main question was ordered. Tibbatts moved to adjourn, and asked for the yeas and nays—which were refused, and also the motion to adjourn. The question, Shall the bill be rejected? was taken by yeas and nays—one hundred and twenty to forty-eight—a majority formed by the sense of the House that the bill itself was a swindler's trick.

15th. Third bath and swim in the Potomac at five o'clock this morning, still with a clear sky and a bright rising sun, but with a fall of ten degrees of Fahrenheit, from eighty-four to seventy-four, and a brisk breeze ruffling the surface of the river, so that when I came out I shivered while dressing at my old rock, but warmed in walking home, and suffered no after inconvenience.

August 9th. There was no preaching at the Capitol. I attended the morning service at St. John's Church, where Mr. Pyne read the prayers for the ninth Sunday after Trinity, and preached from John iii. 18: "He that believeth on Him is not condemned: but he that believeth not is condemned already, because he hath not believed in the name of the only begotten

Son of God." The discourse was upon faith, and disclosed to my mind no new idea.

On Saturday, 5th August, 1809, I started from Charlestown for St. Petersburg with my wife and child, Charles F., and others. The next day, 6th August, 1809, was the ninth Sunday after Trinity, and I read to my wife, on board ship, the service of that day, with an impression which is not effaced, and all the while we were in Europe we continued the practice. Mr. Pyne's discourse was upon saving faith—a perplexing subject.

10th. Close of first session Twenty-Ninth Congress.

The Houses met at eight o'clock A.M. The adjournment was fixed at noon for the convenience of members, many of whom departed in the railway cars for Baltimore at that hour. The day, like all the last days of a session of Congress, was a chaos of confusion. It began by a committee of the whole on the state of the Union, Howell Cobb, Chairman, upon an amendment of the Senate to the Navy Appropriation bill. There was a large majority to disagree to the Senate's amendment, but no quorum voting. Cobb declared the disagreement carried, though Garrett Davis had called for a division and remonstrated that there was no quorum. Cobb rode roughshod over Garrett Davis, and was sustained in his false report by the Speaker, John W. Davis, who, in mastery of Garrett Davis's remonstrance, said he could receive nothing as done in committee but the report of the Chairman. He put the question of concurring with the amendment of the Senate, which was rejected—eighty-four to forty-eight. The bill afterwards passed by a report from a committee of conference; so did the Civil and Diplomatic Appropriation bill. A joint committee was appointed to inform the President that the two Houses would adjourn at noon; but they made no report. Sims, of South Carolina, and W. W. Campbell, of New York, moved to take up the bill for the relief of Elizabeth Hamilton, but failed. As the hand of the clock was on the line of twelve, the Speaker declared the House adjourned to the first Monday in December. At that moment John Davis was prosing in the Senate about the two millions Peace bill, with David Wilmot's anti-slavery proviso, which thereby fell through.

The nineteenth and last volume of the diary terminates with the close of the first session of the Twenty-Ninth Congress as given in the preceding pages.

Six quires, each containing twenty pages, stitched together, less than half of them written in the hand of Mr. Adams, but including the remarkable paper called the posthumous memoir, remain, which extend the record irregularly so far as to the 4th of February, 1848, but nineteen days before his death.

From these last papers it has been judged best to make only such selections as may serve to continue the portraiture of the man to its end. Though his report of the proceedings of the House is faithfully continued, it naturally ceases to represent so much of his own share of action as formerly, whilst, on the other hand, the train of reflection of an invalid sensible of his gradual decline, however interesting to his immediate descendants, can scarcely carry with it any similar attraction to the world at large.

QUINCY, *Sunday, August* 16th.—Blessing, praise, and supplication to God on first rising from bed on returning to my earthly home, after an absence of nine months in the public service of my country. Some discouragement of soul follows the reflection that my aspirations to live in the memory of after-ages as a benefactor of my country and of mankind have not received the sanction of my Maker; that the longing of my soul through a long life to be numbered among the blessings bestowed by the Creator on the race of man is rejected; and after being trammelled and counteracted and disabled at every step of my progress, my faculties are now declining from day to day into mere helpless impotence. Yet at the will of my heavenly Father why should I repine?

Dr. John Pierce, of Brookline, preached at the Stone Temple this day by exchange with the Reverend Mr. Lunt. His morning sermon was from Deuteronomy i. 21: "Behold, the Lord thy God hath set the land before thee: go up and possess it, as the Lord God of thy fathers hath said unto thee; fear not, neither be discouraged."

Dr. Pierce was not thinking of Texas, Mexico, Oregon, but

of the reports of Caleb and Joshua on returning from their exploration of the land of Canaan, and of the heavenly land set before the Christian of the present age for his exploration and possession. All his applications to our times were spiritual. Dr. Pierce dined with us. The afternoon discourse was from Acts xi. 26: "And the disciples were called Christians first at Antioch." This is an incident of historical fact very curious and interesting, upon which the commentary might have been broader and deeper. Dr. Pierce is of the salt of the earth.

20th. At eight o'clock this morning I walked to the Quincy station of the Old Colony Railroad, where I met my son. Took my seat in the train of cars which then came in from South Braintree for Boston—twenty-five cents a ticket. Josiah Quincy, late President of Harvard University, and his son-in-law, Waterston, were also in the cars. Walked to the depot of the Providence Railroad, and found there Josiah Quincy, Junior, Mayor, and the City Council of Boston, with whom I went to Long Pond, in Wayland, to break ground for the construction of an aqueduct to the city of Boston. This ceremony of striking the spade first into the ground was performed by the Mayor, after a short address to him from Nathan Hale, in the name of the Water Commissioners, and a handsome speech of about ten minutes from him. He threw up the first shovelful of earth, and then, with a compliment, invited me to strike the second, which I did, and his father, third passed Mayor of Boston, struck the third. The spade had been made for the occasion, and had on its handle a silver inscription recording in advance the transaction. The company then repaired to a temporary shed or tabernacle at hand, and sat down, to the number of about three hundred, to a temperance cold collation, at which the Mayor presided. The company then returned in the cars to Boston just in time for me to take the cars of the Old Colony Road at five P.M. for Quincy.

September 14th. This afternoon Mr. Charles Sumner and Dr. Howe came out from Boston, and invited me to attend and preside at a public meeting proposed to be held at Boston a week from to-morrow—Tuesday, the 22d of this month—with a view to pass resolutions expressing the public feeling at the

recent kidnapping and abduction of a negro man, who had escaped from his master at New Orleans and landed in the neighborhood of Boston. He was pursued, captured, and shipped off for New Orleans by the captain of the vessel in which he made his escape unknown to the captain. But for retaking him the captain had no authority from the owner of the negro. There was a meeting last evening of a few persons indignant at this outrage upon the laws of the Commonwealth and upon the rights of human nature, who resolved to call a public meeting, and these gentlemen came out, as a committee from this primary meeting, to give me the invitation.

After expressing my sense of the honor done me, I suggested some difficulties owing to the state of my health, and especially the near extinction of my voice, disqualifying me, if not from attending, at least from presiding at such a meeting. I finally promised to attend the meeting if my health would permit, and to preside if I should be able to rely upon my voice for a hearing.

17th. I received this afternoon a letter from Dr. Howe, notifying me that they had been unable to obtain the use of Faneuil Hall for the public meeting on what is called the slave case, until next Thursday evening, the 24th, but still urging my attendance—which I answered, promising to attend if possible.

23d. I had a sleepless night; was up between two and three o'clock of the morning; returned to bed and lingered without repose till five, when I rose for the day with a sore throat, a voice nearly extinct, a redoubled agitation of nerves, and a tremor little short of absolute disqualification for writing. My Socratic demon whispered to me authoritatively not to attempt to preside at the meeting at Faneuil Hall to-morrow evening upon the case of the slave who had escaped from New Orleans in a merchant vessel from this State, commanded by a Captain Hannum. The slave had secreted himself in the vessel unknown to the captain, and succeeded in getting on land at South Boston. Hannum pursued and found him there, seized him without warrant or authority of any kind, shipped him on board of another vessel bound to New Orleans, and sent him back to his master. Attempts were made to follow the vessel in which

he was shipped, with a writ of habeas corpus; but without success. The meeting in Faneuil Hall is called to ascertain the facts of the case, and to consult upon measures to be taken for preventing the repetition of similar cases, and I had promised, if possible, to attend and preside at this meeting. I am disabled by the act of God, and obliged to write to my son, requesting him to give notice of the fact to Dr. Howe and Mr. Charles Sumner, the committee who had given me the invitation. Unfortunately, my letter to my son was not sent.

The Convention of the Whigs for the nomination of Governor and Lieutenant-Governor of the Commonwealth for the year 1847 was held this day at Faneuil Hall, and George N. Briggs was unanimously nominated for re-election as Governor, and John Reed as Lieutenant-Governor. A set of resolutions prepared by Daniel Webster was adopted, and another offered by Stephen C. Phillips was rejected. There are two divisions in the party, one based upon public principle, and the other upon manufacturing and commercial interests.

24th. I received this morning a letter from Dr. Howe, again urging my attendance at the Faneuil Hall meeting this evening. I had a good night's sleep last night, and this morning the sore throat had passed away, the hoarseness much subsided, and the voice almost entirely recovered, though still very feeble. Ever since the day when Dr. Howe and Charles Sumner came with the invitation, and I had given them the conditional promise to attend, the notification of the meeting in all daily newspapers had stated that it would be presided over by me. As this day advanced, I felt returning strength, and immediately after dinner concluded to go at all hazards. I went up the hill and found my son, who had been into Boston and returned. Dr. Bowditch came in soon after from Boston, to request that I would write a note approbatory of the meeting, to be read there and account for my absence. I told him I had concluded to go, and agreed to meet him at his house at six this evening. I went accordingly with my son, and found assembled at Dr. Bowditch's house a small tea-party of the gentlemen who had called the meeting. At seven we went to Faneuil Hall, where a great crowd of people were assembled, filling every nook and

corner of the room, including numbers of ladies filling the galleries. The chair was assigned to me by acclamation. Stephen C. Phillips and Samuel May were chosen Vice-Presidents, and J. A. Andrew, Secretary to the meeting. It continued till about ten in the evening. Sundry resolutions were adopted, with inconsiderable opposition. Among the speakers was my son; and when he rose I resigned the chair to Mr. Stephen C. Phillips. The meeting closed with a vote of thanks to me, moved by Edmund Quincy, and carried, not without opposition. With my son I returned from the hall to Quincy, and reached home after eleven at night.

25th. I read Dr. Gilman's reminiscences of New England at the close of the eighteenth century, and especially of the Reverend Stephen Peabody, of Atkinson, New Hampshire, and of his second wife, my mother's sister, Elizabeth. If the Protestant creed tolerated canonization, these two persons would have deserved to stand among the foremost on the calendar. I read also Dr. Lamson's discourse in defence and support of the Congregational form of worship. He extols it for its simplicity. I prefer it to the Roman Catholic, which admits, and to the English Episcopal, which seems to admit, the power of the priest to grant absolution for sins. But there is no Christian church with which I could not join in social worship.

October 5th. I received a letter from James Maguire, a member of the Senate in the Legislature of this Commonwealth, dated 2d October, 1846, informing me that at a Convention of Whig delegates of District No. 8, assembled at Dedham, October 1st, a committee of five gentlemen were chosen to make known to me the doings of that body, and requesting me to name a day and hour when the committee may meet me and communicate to me the wishes of the Convention. There is no distinct intimation of what they were, but the Convention unanimously nominated me by ballot for re-election to represent the district in the Thirtieth Congress of the United States, and they passed two sets of resolutions corresponding with those which were adopted by the State Convention held at Boston last week, and with those then offered by Stephen C. Phillips and rejected; but both sets were adopted

at Dedham. The Liberty party of the Eighth District have nominated Appleton Howe, of Weymouth, as their candidate for the Thirtieth Congress. They nominated him for the Twenty-Ninth.

12th. Maguire, J.; Tileston, E. P.; Adams, S. M. These three gentlemen came about eleven o'clock this morning and informed me that they, together with Lysander Richards, of Quincy, and J. J. Richards, of Weymouth, were deputed by the Whig Convention of the Eighth Congressional District, held at Dedham on the 1st of this month to nominate a candidate to be supported by the Whig party to represent the district in the House of Representatives in the Thirtieth Congress, to inform me that I was chosen by ballot unanimously as the candidate of the party, and to request my acceptance of the nomination. I answered Mr. Maguire, the Chairman of the committee, and who spoke in their name, and said that I accepted the nomination with grateful sentiments for the honor done me by the Convention in presenting my name to the people for re-election to the trust which I held of representing them in Congress, and with equal sensibility to the kindness of the members of the committee in taking the trouble to make this communication to me in person. I added that I could not but be highly gratified by the unanimity of the Convention, specially manifested by the form of voting by ballot. I regarded it as a decisive testimony of the approbation of my constituents upon the general course of my conduct as their representative, and I made some remarks in commenting upon which my conduct has been subject to some animadversion and censure—the Oregon question and the Mexican War. They expressed their concurrence with my views, and, after a short conversation, took their leave.

There are two nominations by Conventions against me—Isaac H. Wright, by the Democracy, and Appleton Howe, of Weymouth, by the Liberty party. The same persons were nominated against me by the same parties at the election for the present Congress. They may be stronger now.

31st. There has perhaps not been another individual of the human race, of whose daily existence from early childhood

to fourscore years has been noted down with his own hand so minutely as mine. At little more than twelve years of age I began to journalize, and nearly two years before that, on the 11th of February, 1778, I embarked from my maternal uncle Norton Quincy's house, at Mount Wollaston, on board the Boston frigate, Captain Samuel Tucker, then lying in Nantasket Roads, and bound to France. I was then ten years and seven months old, and the house whence I embarked had been built by my great-grandfather John Quincy, upon his marriage with Elizabeth Norton in 1716. There he lived to the age of seventy-seven years, and there he died on the 13th of July, 1767, the day after I had received his name in baptism. If my intellectual powers had been such as have been sometimes committed by the Creator of man to single individuals of the species, my diary would have been, next to the Holy Scriptures, the most precious and valuable book ever written by human hands, and I should have been one of the greatest benefactors of my country and of mankind. I would, by the irresistible power of genius and the irrepressible energy of will and the favor of Almighty God, have banished war and slavery from the face of the earth forever. But the conceptive power of mind was not conferred upon me by my Maker, and I have not improved the scanty portion of His gifts as I might and ought to have done. May I never cease to be grateful for the numberless blessings received through life at His hands, never repine at what He has denied, never murmur at the dispensations of Providence, and implore His forgiveness for all the errors and delinquencies of my life!

November 10th. At the Town Hall yesterday one of the distributers of votes gave me a printed paper, as follows:

REGULAR WHIG TICKET.

For Governor,
George N. Briggs, of Pittsfield.

For Lieutenant-Governor,
John Reed, of Yarmouth.

For Representative to Congress, Eighth District,
John Quincy Adams, of Quincy.

For Senators for Norfolk County,
Samuel Guild, of Roxbury,
James Maguire, of Randolph,
Truman Clarke, of Walpole.
For Town Representative,
Charles Clapp.
(This name in manuscript.)

This ticket, after taking off my own name and pinning together the two parts of the papers bearing the other names, I deposited with my own hand in the ballot-box held out to me by one of the selectmen. This was my vote. No other ticket was presented to me; but there were at least two others—the Democratic ticket and the Liberty party ticket. What the returns are I know not. Governor Briggs has in Boston a majority of more than three thousand, and R. C. Winthrop a majority of upwards of twenty-six hundred. The Whigs have sweeping majorities all over the State.

12th. I received letters from Henry B. Wheelwright and J. N. Brewer, dated yesterday at Roxbury, advising me of an error in the election returns from Roxbury for a Representative in Congress for the Eighth District of Massachusetts, held last Monday, and published in the Boston Atlas of Tuesday morning. The error consists in setting down seven hundred and ninety-one votes for me, and five hundred and fifty-four for other candidates, leaving a majority of only two hundred and thirty-seven in my favor. The real vote was nine hundred and ninety-two for me, and three hundred and forty-one for others, leaving a majority for me of six hundred and fifty-one. I answered these letters thanking the writers for their information and for the interest they have taken in having the error corrected.

17th. At a quarter-before eight o'clock this morning, my wife, with Mrs. John Adams, her daughter Mary Louisa, Margaret Dulany, and our coachman, Albert Putnam, departed in the train of cars of the Old Colony Railroad to Boston, where my son was waiting for them, and at half-past eight they all started by the Long Island for New York, my wife and family

on their way to Washington, and my son bearing them company to New York, and perhaps to Philadelphia.

After dinner, at four o'clock, I came in our carriage into Boston, and to my son's house, 57 Mount Vernon Street, where I found his wife and five children, all well. My son was gone with his mother. Here, as has become a sort of annual custom, I propose to pass the remainder of this month.

WASHINGTON, Sunday, 14th March, 1847.

POSTHUMOUS MEMOIR.[1]

On Friday, the 20th November, 1846, being at my son's house, in Mount Vernon Street, Boston, I rose, as I had for many years been accustomed to do, between four and five o'clock in the morning, and went through the usual process of ablution and friction with a horse-hair strap and mitten, given me in the summer of 1843, and which from that time I had used from day to day; and, after breakfasting with the family, I attempted to walk out with Dr. George Parkman to visit the new establishment of the Medical College. I suddenly found myself unable to walk, and my knees sinking under me. With the help of Dr. Parkman I staggered back to my son's house. Dr. Jacob Bigelow, my physician, was called in. Dr. Jackson accidentally was in consultation with him; and I was put to bed, to which I was several days and nights confined, with a suspension of bodily powers, with little or no pain and little exercise of intellect. From that hour I date my decease, and consider myself, for every useful purpose to myself or to my fellow-creatures, dead; and hence I call this and what I may write hereafter a posthumous memoir.

I was confined for several days—I know not how many—to the bed. My sudden and extraordinary seizure was noticed in the Boston newspapers of the following day. On Friday, the 17th, my son had left Boston with my family. He went with them as far as Philadelphia, and then returned to Boston, where he found me in bed at his house. He had heard of my being taken ill before he reached home, in the cars of the Long Island Railroad.

[1] This paper is entirely in the handwriting of the author.

On Sunday, the 22d, my wife, who had arrived at Washington, was informed of my sudden illness by two letters from Mrs. Charles Adams and by the newspaper paragraphs. The next morning she left Washington, accompanied as far as Baltimore by her nephew, and thence she proceeded alone by railroad and steamboat, and reached Boston on Tuesday evening, the 24th, having made the passage from New York in the steamer Atlantic, the last passage which she made before that in which she perished.

From that time until the 8th of February, 1847, we lived at my son's house and with his family. On the 1st of January I was first able to take a ride in a carriage for about an hour with my daughter; which ride was thenceforward daily repeated till the 22d of January, when I made the experiment of walking in the street in Boston. On the 24th and 31st of January I attended public worship at the First Congregational Church in Boston. On the 7th of February I walked to that church morning and afternoon, and partook of the Communion administered by Dr. N. L. Frothingham.

On Monday, the 8th of February, I left my son's house, where I had been confined from the preceding 20th of November, and, with my wife and my son and Mrs. Fader, my nurse, we travelled by the railway to Springfield, where we arrived about eight o'clock that evening and took lodgings at Warriner's.

On Tuesday, the 9th of February, at one P.M. we took the railway cars for New Haven, through Hartford, and at five P.M. were embarked at New Haven in a steamer for New York, which we reached at nine in the evening and took lodgings at the City Hotel.

Wednesday, 10th, rain the whole day, which confined us to the house at the City Hotel.

Thursday, 11th February, we came from New York by the Camden Railroad to Philadelphia, where we arrived at three P.M. and took lodgings at the Union Hotel in Chestnut Street, which is, however, no longer kept by Jones and no longer in a style satisfactory to the traveller. We had no intercourse with any of the other lodgers at the house, and no society but ourselves.

12th, *Friday.* My dear wife's seventy-second birthday. We came by the railway from Philadelphia to Baltimore, where we dined at the United States Hotel, and after dinner proceeded by the railway to Washington. We found our carriage waiting for us at the depot, and about eight o'clock in the evening landed at our house in F Street.

Mr. Adams left Washington on the 1st of June, and reached Quincy on the 5th of the same month. On the 27th of July he took a lively interest in a quiet celebration gotten up by the family of the fiftieth recurrence of the marriage anniversary. Here he remained until the 1st of November, when he was once more transferred to Washington, and for the last time. During this period the diary appears to have been at intervals kept up by dictation to his granddaughter, but the narrative is no longer inspired with its former animation. The latest entry is of the 4th of January, 1848; but his letters extend to the 4th of February. One of these, written on New Year's day to his son, the editor of this work, in his own clear and steady hand, may perhaps be permitted an admission here, as indicating that his spirit even at that latest period could still kindle in the old way when stirred by some natural occasion:

WASHINGTON, 1st January, 1848.

MY DEAR SON,—On this commencement of a new year my thoughts intensely turn to you, to the partner of your life, to your children, and to the Giver of all good, in thanksgiving for all the blessings which you have been and still are to me, and in fervent supplication for the favors of Divine Providence upon you one and all; especially that you may be sustained in your incorruptible integrity through all the trials that may be reserved for you upon earth, and that whatever may be their ultimate issue here, of which I abate not a jot of heart and hope, you will at least be sure of the approbation of your Maker.

A stout heart and a clear conscience, and never despair.

Your ever affectionate father,

JOHN QUINCY ADAMS.

The circumstances connected with the decease of Mr. Adams are so well known as to require little development here. On the 20th of February he seemed as well as he had been, and had attended divine service morning and afternoon. On the 21st he went up to the Capitol as usual and took his customary seat in the House of Representatives, with no appearance whatever of illness. A question had sprung up touching a vote of thanks to certain military officers for services rendered during the Mexican War; and the Speaker was rising to put the motion to the House, when he was arrested by Mr. Washington Hunt, a member from New York, sitting near to Mr. Adams, who perceived him in a state of convulsion, and interposed to stop the proceedings. Not being in a condition for removal to his own house, he was placed in one of the committee-rooms. No medical service was found to be possible, and he lingered with little apparent consciousness till the evening of the 23d, when he died.

The event gave rise to extraordinary excitement all over the country. A large committee of both Houses of Congress was deputed to attend the remains to their last resting-place in Quincy, Massachusetts, and numbers of funeral addresses were delivered in the principal places of the country by many of its most distinguished men.

Louisa Catherine Adams, his wife, survived him a little more than four years, having shared all the vicissitudes of more than half a century with him in unbroken union and harmony. Their remains lie in company with those of John and Abigail Adams under the portal of the church at Quincy. In the interior has been placed on the right side a marble tablet corresponding to that of John and Abigail Adams on the left side of the pulpit.

The explanation of the meaning of the emblems on it has been given so clearly by the Rev. Dr. Lunt, formerly pastor of the church, in one of his occasional discourses, that it seems to make a fitting close to this history of a life.

ALTERI SECULO.

A *Q*

Near this place
Reposes all that could die of
JOHN QUINCY ADAMS,
Son of John and Abigail [Smith] Adams,
Sixth President of the United States.
Born 11 July, 1767,
Amidst the storms of Civil Commotion,
He nursed the vigor
Which nerves a Statesman and a Patriot,
And the Faith
Which inspires a Christian.
For more than half a century,
Whenever his Country called for his Labors,
In either Hemisphere or in any Capacity,
He never spared them in her Cause.
On the Twenty-fourth of December, 1814,
He signed the second Treaty with Great Britain,
Which restored peace within her borders;
On the Twenty-third of February, 1848,
He closed sixteen years of eloquent Defence
Of the Lessons of his Youth,
By dying at his Post,
In her Great National Council.

A son, worthy of his Father,
A Citizen, shedding glory on his Country,
A Scholar, ambitious to advance mankind,
This Christian sought to walk humbly
In the sight of his God.

—

Beside him lies
His Partner for fifty Years,
LOUISA CATHERINE,
Daughter of Joshua and Catherine (Nuth) Johnson,
Born, 12 February, 1775,
Married, 26 July, 1797,
Deceased, 15 May, 1852,
Aged 77.
Living through many vicissitudes, and
Under high responsibilities,
As a Daughter, Wife, and Mother,
She proved equal to all;
Dying, she left to her family and her sex
The blessed remembrance
Of a "Woman that feareth the Lord."

"Herein is that saying true, one soweth and another reapeth. I sent you to reap that wherein ye bestowed no labor: other men labored, and ye are entered into their labors."

For some interesting facts in relation to the bust and the inscriptions upon the monument, I am indebted to the kindness of the Hon. C. F. Adams, and copy with pleasure some of the particulars contained in his communication. He says,—

"I find, by reference to the diary of my father, that in the month of March, 1837, he spent two or three hours of every day for one week in sitting to Mr. Powers for a model in clay for his bust. The final touch was given on the first of April. He notes that Mr. Powers had taken the clay from the soil of the city of Washington, which, the latter remarked, was the best moulding clay in the world. And this is all he says about it.

"Mr. Powers took his model to Italy with him, and from it made the bust which is in the church."

It became subsequently the property of Mr. Horatio Greenough, the artist, who knew how to estimate its merit, and after Mr. Greenough's decease was purchased by Mr. Adams, who has now transferred it to the consecrated place where the original was for so many years a constant, candid, and devout hearer and worshipper.

Mr. Adams goes on to say,—

"One or two other things about the tablet require a word of explanation, which has never been given. The design of the acorn was his own, to which he was so much attached that he had it cut on a seal which he habitually wore, attached to his watch, and with which he sealed most of his letters in later life. The leaf is that of the *white oak*, which peculiarly indicates the sturdy growth of New England. The motto is from Cicero, who in several places quotes Cæcilius Statius, a comic poet, though not always in exactly the same words. The full sentence is this: *Serit arbores quæ alteri seculo prosint.* And if you will cast your eye over the context in the fourteenth section of the first Tusculan, where it appears, you will readily take in the course of reflection which made it dear to him.

"The two letters, *A*, *Ω*, have puzzled many. They have a history attached to them. They were favorite characters for the inscriptions of the early Christians, who used them both with and without the monogram which denotes the name of Christ ☧. They were also the symbols of the Gnostics, of which Dr. Walsh, in a little book giving specimens of their early gems, furnishes curious examples. In my judgment they are the true designation of the Deity which Christians ought to use, and are much more symbolic as numbers than any of the Roman ascriptions, which are susceptible of ambiguous interpretation. DEO OPTIMO MAXIMO, for example, implies that there may be DII MELIORES and MAJORES, as well as MINORES and MINIMI, which is true of Roman theology, as the same initials of D. M. were constantly used for DIS MANIBUS."

The remark has often been made, and with manifest truth, that the Scriptures furnish the only fit terms and symbols to

express the mind's conceptions of the Being, the mysterious Nature, and the Attributes of the Deity. This remark is applicable to the monumental characters of which it is so justly observed in the extract given above, that "they are the true designation of the Deity which Christians ought to use." The *A* Ω, the alpha and omega, the first and the last characters in the alphabet of written language,—how could there be chosen more significant symbols than these, of Him who has seen fit to reveal Himself to our minds under the conception of a WORD?

These characters refer to the well-known passage in the Book of the Revelation of St. John: "I am Alpha and Omega, the beginning and the ending, saith the Lord, which is, and which was, and which is to come, the Almighty." The Christian poet Prudentius, in one of his hymns, says,—

> "Alpha et Omega cognominatur ipse; fons et clausula
> Omnium quæ sunt, fuerunt, vel post futura sunt."

Sometimes in the mediæval inscriptions we find three letters introduced, *A M* Ω, these three being the commencement, the middle, and the end of the Greek alphabet, and therefore descriptive of God, who is the beginning, the middle, and the end of all; who was yesterday, who is to-day, who will be to-morrow. But this attempt to improve upon the simple symbol of Scripture is felt at once to be a needless conceit. It is an interesting fact that the lines written by President Adams for the occasion of the two hundredth anniversary of the gathering of our church contain an idea not often expressed, and not likely to be conceived and entertained by any common mind, and which may illustrate the inscription on his monument:

> Alas! how swift the moments fly!
> How flash the years along!
> Scarce here, yet gone already by,
> The burden of a song.
> See childhood, youth, and manhood pass,
> And age, with furrowed brow:
> Time was,—Time shall be,—drain the glass;
> But where in Time is NOW?

Time is the measure but of change;
No present hour is found;
The past, the future, fill the range
Of Time's unceasing round.
Where, then, is NOW? In realms above,
With God's atoning Lamb,
In regions of eternal love,
Where sits enthroned I AM.

Here, too, may be a suitable place to introduce the lines addressed by John Quincy Adams, in 1837, to Hiram Powers, when, as has already been stated, the model was moulded from which the bust was executed:

Sculptor! thy hand has moulded into form
The haggard features of a toil-worn face,
And whosoever views thy work shall trace
An age of sorrows, and a life of storm.
And canst thou mould the heart? for that is warm,
Glowing with tenderness for all its race,
Instinct with all the sympathies that grace
The pure and artless bosoms where they swarm.
Artist! may fortune smile upon thy hand!
Go forth and rival Greece's art sublime;
Return, and bid the statesmen of thy land
Live in thy marble through all after-time.
Oh, catch the fire from heaven Prometheus stole,
And give the lifeless block a breathing soul.

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THE END.

ERRATA.

Volume I., page 4, 5th line from bottom, strike out *not*.
page 8, 14th line from bottom, for '1779' read 1778.
Volume II., page 203, 10th line from top, for 'morning' read *evening*.
page 310, 20th line from top, for 'two' read *ten*.
page 360, for 'John A. Smith' read John *W.* Smith.
Volume V., page 23, line 4th, for 'sixteen' read *sixty*.
Volume VI., page 510, note, line 2d, for 'Ossory' read *Ossington*.
Volume VII., page 169, last line of paragraph, for 'in' read *is*.
Volume IX., page 225, line 15th, for '1751' read 1651.
page 266, two lines from bottom, for 'fortieth' read *forty-fifth*.
Volume X., page 163, first paragraph, line 2, for 'George McKim' read *George M. Keim*.

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